

Tibet Information Network

News Review 26 April, 1994

News from Tibet, October-March 1994

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ARRESTS, RELEASES

Wave of Arrests in Eastern Tibet

TIN News Update/6 October, 1993 (part)

Chinese suppression of nationalist unrest in Tibet appears to have taken a new turn with the arrest of scores of Tibetans (including intellectuals and a famous actor) from Eastern Tibet during July, according to unofficial reports from the area.

Until these arrests north-eastern Tibet, the former province of Amdo, now subsumed within the Chinese province of Qinghai and parts of Sichuan and southern Gansu, had seen few political arrests or outward protest in recent years.

Many of the arrests, which some sources say included 60 or more Tibetans, took place in Tsholho (Chinese: Hainan) in southern Qinghai, shortly before or during the visit of China's Party Secretary, Jiang Zemin, to Chabcha (Chinese: Gonghe), the capital of Tsholho prefecture. Jiang made a rare visit to the area during his 16th-21st July tour of Qinghai.

Jiang's visit came two weeks before celebrations were held in Chabcha on 3rd August to mark the 40th Anniversary of the founding of the "Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture" of Tsholho (Chinese: Hainan). The arrests appear to have been designed to prevent any dissent marring the celebrations or Jiang's visit.

A local Tibetan resident of Chabcha told TIN that the Tibetans had been arrested in Tsholho prefecture or in Xining in the week beginning 15th July, although some sources said the arrests began at least a week earlier. He said that the detainees were suspected of preparing pro-independence leaflets to be distributed during the anniversary celebrations. "The Chinese authorities have not given any sort of satisfactory explanation for these serious occurrences", said another source, commenting on the wave of arrests.

The total number of arrests could not be confirmed but at least five unofficial sources named six of the detainees, mostly Tibetan intellectuals, students or officials in the area. Three more names were reported by another source.

The six include a famous comedian and writer, **Menlha Kyab** (sman-lha skyabs), aged about 35, who comes from the town of Chabcha (Chinese: Gonghe). Menlha Kyab, whose name is also written as Menlha Cha, is a proponent of "cross-talk", the art of comic dialogue known as *kha-xie* (kha-shags) in Amdo or as *xiangsheng* in China. He is well known for his radio broadcasts as a comic and for his writing in the magazine *Qinghai People's Art*. He is a prominent member of a theatre company in Tsholho and also works in the provincial capital at the Xining Film Company dubbing films into Tibetan.

Nationality Language Committee Officials Arrested

The arrestees included a number of Tibetan officials and intellectuals who work in Government-sponsored bodies dedicated to the promotion of the use of Tibetan language. Two of the men arrested - **Shawo Dorje** (sha-

bo rdo-rje) and 27 year old **Huachen Kyab** (dpa'-chen skyabs) - worked for the Tibetan Language Committee (mi-rigs skad yig las-khungs) in the prefecture of Tsholho.

In what may be a connected incident, on August 6th, two weeks after the Chabcha arrests, a member of the Lhasa branch of the Tibetan Language Committee, 30 year old **Tenpa Kelsang**, was arrested from his rooms at the University in Lhasa.

The arrests of the Language Committee officials in Chabcha and Lhasa suggest that Chinese tolerance of purely cultural nationalism in Tibet over the last decade and a half may now have succumbed to pressure from hard-line sectors of the Party.

Cultural activists in Tibet have not so far been arrested unless they openly espoused independence, unlike Inner Mongolia, where in 1991 several nationalists involved in Mongolian cultural studies were arrested, and their study groups banned.

Others arrested in the July sweep in Chabcha include **Samdrup Tsering** (bsam-grub tshe-ring), a postgraduate research student at the Nationalities Institute in Xining. After graduating from the same Institute with a degree in Tibetan language in 1988, Samdrup, now aged about 27, born of a Chinese father and a Tibetan mother in Rongbo village in Re Kong (Chinese: Tongren) county in southern Qinghai, worked as a translator in his home county until 1991 when he returned to the Institute.

Dungkar Tso (dung-dkar 'tsho), a female student at the Teachers' Training College in Xining, was also arrested; as was **Pajlor Tsering**, also written as Huajor Tsering (dpa'-byor tshe-ring), a former minor official in Chabcha who was sent on a 2 year refresher course at the Nationalities Institute in Xining. He had recently returned from a visit to India.

The highest ranking official to have been arrested is reported to have been 43 year old **Lhashamwa** (lha-byams dpa), sometimes known as Lhacho Lhawa, a senior adviser to the Political Consultative Conference in Tsholho.

An additional source named a student called **Tsering Thar** (tshe-ring thar) as arrested during the sweep, and said that a man called **Lhatrigya** (lha-'phrug rgyal) has been held in a Xining prison and has been severely beaten and injured by police, but this could not be confirmed.

Chabcha Anniversary Celebrations

The 40th Anniversary Celebration in Chabcha took place without incident, and thousands of local residents crowded into the town stadium to watch a parade by Tibetans in traditional costume and about 40 soldiers carrying artillery pieces. Armed police were on duty in the stadium and at one point a force of 200 soldiers marched from across the stadium and back again, apparently in a show of force.

"The stadium was full, half the population couldn't get in" said one resident. "Once it started everyone was locked in: to go to the toilet you had to climb out over the walls." There was no sign of dissent amongst the

crowd, but little interest in the speeches either. "I didn't see any sign of whether people were happy or not... there were endless speeches for more than 3 hours about economic development, but nobody seemed to be listening."

A separate source reported from Lhasa that at the beginning of August the Chinese authorities in Tsholho had promised to release the detainees. "But by the end of August they were still in prison", said the source, who cannot be named. "With no news going in or coming out of these places we are in fact unable to really know exactly what is happening."

"The present situation here is extremely bad, with innocent people being arrested. Under the current close surveillance of the Chinese, anyone who puts up a poster must be a very fearless person indeed," they added.

Three weeks after the celebration the town of Chabcha was devastated by a flood after the collapse of a local dam, leading to the deaths or disappearance of at least 370 people.

There are reports of nationalist leaflets being distributed during a ceremony in Ragya in the neighbouring prefecture of Golok in November 1992. Rekong (Chinese: Tongren) saw a demonstration in December 1987, leading to the arrest of 6 monks, and a Tibetan flag was hoisted over the government buildings there in November 1991, but other signs of outward protest in the Tibetan areas of Qinghai have been rare.

There has been a strong cultural renaissance in Amdo during the last decade, dominated by the famous Tibetan writer **Dondrup Gyal**, born in Gyantsa in Amdo, who committed suicide in Chabcha in 1985.

The Tibetan intellectuals in Amdo and other Tibetan areas exploited China's constitutional provisions in the 1980s allowing the development of nationality culture and literature, a policy especially cultivated by the influential Tibetan religious leader the Panchen Lama until his death in 1989. But these writers and scholars have until now avoided any sign of outright dissent and none are known to have been arrested before.

Prisoner Details

Dungkar Tso (dung-dkar 'tsho), female, student at Xining Teacher Training College, from Tsholho/Hainan, Amdo, arrested July 1993.

Huachen Kyab, also written as Huachen Gyab, Huachen Cha or Wachen Gya (dpal-chen skyabs), male, official at the Nationality Languages Committee, Tsholho/Hainan [?], detained July 1993.

Lhashamwa, also written as Lhajamwa or Lhacho Lhawa (lha-byams dpal) male, aged 43, member or adviser to the Chinese People Political Consultative Conference, Tsholho/Hainan, detained July 1993.

Lhatrigya also written as Lhatrugyal (lha-'phrug rgyal) male, Tsholho/Hainan [?], detained July 1993, unconfirmed, allegedly held in a Xining prison and severely beaten.

Menlha Kyap, also written as Menlha Cha (smen-lha skyabs), male, aged about 35, actor and writer, Hainan Dance and Drama Company [mTsho-lho zla-gar tshogs-pa]. Formerly he was working at the Xining Film Company. He comes from Tsholho (Hainan). He was detained July 1993. Believed to have been released in December 1993.

Paljor Tsering, also written as Huaor Tsering (dpa-'byor tshe-ring), male, a *juzhang* or middle ranking official in the education department in Chabcha, formerly a student at Qinghai Nationalities Institute in Xining, detained July 1993.

Samdrup Tsering (bsam-grub tshe-ring), male, aged 26, postgraduate student Qinghai Nationalities Institute, from Rekong/Tongren, detained July 1993.

Shawo Dorje (sha-bo rdo-rje) male, official at the Nationality Languages Committee, Tsholho/Hainan [?], detained July 1993.

Tsering Thar (tshe-ring thar), male, Tsholho/Hainan [?], detained July 1993, unconfirmed.

Chabcha Pamphlets: Eyewitness Account

In late 1993, Sonam Tsering, a 24 year old Tibetan from Chabcha, arrived in India, and gave an eyewitness account of the 1993 arrests in Chabcha. The account is summarised below (TIN Ref: 12(FV)).

Sonam Tsering was a member of the Tsholho (Chinese: Hainan) Dance and Drama Troupe (the *spra-gar mgron-khang gi zlom ga tshogs-chung*), the same organisation for which Menlha Kyap worked as a translator, and was a student of Paljor Tsering. Sonam was not involved in the production of the pamphlets, but he heard from colleagues at his work that two other Tibetans whom he knew were arranging to distribute pamphlets during the Serchen Labtse (*gsar-chen lab-tse*) festival, due to take place on the 4th day of the 5th month, according to the Amdo calendar.

At that time only five other people knew about the plan. By the time the festival took place many other people had become involved and helped with the distribution of pamphlets. Some of them were Tibetan officials and others were monks, nuns and lay people.

There were about 10,000 people present during the festival. The pamphlets which the group distributed were written in Tibetan, and, according to Sonam Tsering, they complained about the earlier Chinese destruction of monasteries and nunneries, about the shooting of demonstrators in Lhasa, and about lack of educational and employment opportunities for Tibetans. "If we have to live under the Chinese, we have very little chance to make any progress, and we get very little chance to get good education", said the leaflet, according to Sonam Tsering's recollections. The pamphlets also claimed, in what sounds like a confusion with reports of the 1989 Tiananmen Square massacres, that many Tibetan students had been killed during a demonstration or distribution of pamphlets in Beijing in 1987.

Arrest: 28th of the 5th Month, 1993

About 48 people were detained after the festival in connection with the pamphlets, according to Sonam Tsering. They included **Sonam Gyatso**, a colleague of Sonam's in his late 20s, who also worked at the Dance and Drama Group; **Thokme** (Thok-med), a nomad aged about 24; **Sangda-gya** (bSang-dag rgya), around 21 years, a driver; and **Doli** (rDo-li), a farmer, aged around 25 years. These four were held at the Hainan Public Security unit (the *mTsho-lho khul sbyi sde ru-khag*). All except twelve of the 48 detainees were released after initial interrogations.

Sonam was detained on the 28th day of the 5th Tibetan month (17th July 1993) when three Chinese officials came to his house. They asked him politely whether he could come with them to the police station, and did not search his house. At the police station he was offered cigarettes and tea, and then told that he would be asked some questions, which he was advised to answer truthfully. The officials told him that they knew that he had been distributing pamphlets during the festival.

Sonam says that he refused to answer any of their questions. The officials remained polite for a long time, but then made Sonam sit on a chair on his knees, with his hands cuffed behind his back. They repeated the same questions about who had initiated the pamphlet distribution and who else had taken part. When Sonam did not reply he was stripped naked, apart from his underwear. The officials gave him electric shocks with a small implement shaped like a pistol. "When they pulled the trigger, electric shocks came from the barrel," he said. They gave shocks on his face, his neck, his hands, his legs, and his lower back. They also started beating him.

He was detained for 10 days, with a three-hour interrogation each day. In four of the ten sessions the officials tried to treat him gently, apparently hoping they would get more information out of him this way. In the other six sessions he was beaten and given electric shocks. After ten days the officials told him that they couldn't find out whether or not he had been involved in the organisation of the pamphlets and released him. Sonam claims to have been warned that he could face life imprisonment if the officials found out that he had been involved.

Chinese Spies Report Home:

Security Reports on Amdo Pamphlets & Switzerland

Tibetan reports of pro-independence leaflets being distributed in Amdo have been confirmed by an official Chinese document from Chengdu, which has been obtained by TIN. The document gives an insight of the workings of Chinese counter-intelligence. It is a Chinese language journal marked "secret", entitled *Trends Amongst Tibetans Abroad*, Issue No 022, and dated 24th June 1992.

The bulletin gives reports on pro-Tibetan and nationalist activities amongst Tibetans outside Tibet, as well as brief reports of pro-independence activities within Chinese territory. One item describes 1600 nationalist leaflets being handed out at a festival in Ngaba in June 1992:

Reactionary leaflets distributed throughout Aba [Ngaba] county at Zhachong [?] festival.

It is reported that from June 15th to June 18th at the annual Zhachong festival of Aba county, masses from Sichuan, Gansu and Qinghai, as well as people from all walks of life, took part. 4 incidents of reactionary leaflet distribution were discovered, with more than 1600 having been handed out. Of their content, most important was propaganda for Tibetan independence and eulogies of the Dalai. The local police department is right now investigating this case.

The magazine is produced by the *Sichuan Tibetan Studies Research Institute*, an academic organisation in Chengdu, which is a front for the State Security Bureau.

The bulletin includes reports, some monitored from the press and others apparently gathered by Chinese agents in Europe, of the activities of Tibetans and pro-Tibetan organisations outside Tibet. Section 1 of the 24th June 1992 edition is devoted to the Dalai Lama's travels to Indonesia, Australia and New Zealand. Section 2 describes the "international reaction" to the Dalai Lama's efforts and includes articles about a pro-Tibetan group established in the Lithuanian Parliament and about a question on Tibet raised in the Canadian Parliament. Another item describes a pro-independence petition signed by "2.5 million" people. Section 3 is dedicated to information from Dharamsala, including "Dalai Lama's entourage holds foreign relations training class" and "Dalai Lama's entourage holds 3rd anniversary commemoration of the 'Tiananmen Incident'".

A later item gives a detailed description of the operations of the Tibetan exile organisations in Switzerland:

The Swiss organisation has an official chairman, who is responsible for the inspection of the Tibetans' welfare [sheng huo] as well as the work of making arrangements for representatives of the small group of Tibetans. Every month a joint meeting is convened with the leaders of the representatives of the Swiss people's small groups, the branch of the Tibetan Youth Organisation [zangqinghui fenhui] and the branch of the Women's Organisation [fumi zuzhi fenhui] as well as the head of the Swiss Friendship Association and others taking part. They discuss important problems concerning the Tibetans living locally, pass on the "Government's" proclamations as well as assignments associated with their work. Tibetans in Switzerland are very few, in contrast to Tibetans living in India, and furthermore convene very many meetings. As a result, very many of these meetings are held on Saturdays or Sundays, as well as on other days off.

An item in the section giving an update on pro-independence activities in Tibet - entitled *Infiltration Situation Within China* - describes the number of people in Ganze (Kandze) county who have bought short wave radios so they can listen to VOA and other "enemy radio stations": 211 short wave sets were sold from the Ganze county radio store in the two months of March and April. "Transistor radios have been sold out throughout the county," it added. Another article notes the increase in the number of monks fleeing to India and

Nepal, and gives a rare indication of the high proportion of refugees who are detained by the Chinese authorities before they are able to cross the border. The article also suggests that the Chinese, at least in two cases, also knew within a few weeks which Tibetans had successfully reached India:

The period from 20th March to 17th April of this year, a period of time shorter than a month, has already seen 40 cases of leaving without permission among the zhaba [monks] living in the temples. Of these, 2 have already crossed the border to India and 38 have been detained [as they were] about to leave Tibet's borders. Jiala Temple [or monastery] is a small temple, from which 12 zhaba have left this year. The same situation with regard to zhabas and lamas leaving is present to varying degrees in other temples throughout the county.

The 1992 increase in escapes noted by the State Security Bureau is mirrored in the number that successfully escaped across the border. In April 1991 a total of 44 Tibetans succeeded in crossing the border and reaching India; in 1992 in the same month the number increased to 60, according to refugee figures.

The number of Tibetans leaving for India continued to increase after 1992. In April 1993, a year after the Sichuan Journal published its observations about the escapes, the monthly total increased by nearly 400% to 276. Of these 276 refugees, 128 (46%) were monks and 13 were nuns; 76 (27%) were under 18 years old. From 1991 to 1992 the annual number of registered escapees increased by 19% (from 2,046 to 2,435), and by a further 50% from 1992 to 1993 (3,710).

The article noted that between 1986 and 1991 there had been very few cases of monks leaving without permission because the temples in the Ganze area were "rather strictly administered".

Pamphlets in Kham: Arrest and Imprisonment

Reports of pro-independence pamphlets being distributed in Kham have now been substantiated by a Tibetan from Kham who reached Dharamsala in June 1993. One of a group of Tibetans arrested in October 1990 (see TIN News Update 19 February 1991), **Tsering Dorje**, a 30 year old farmer from 'Go-rtse village near Kandze, received a 12 year sentence for distributing pamphlets and raising the Tibetan flag, but managed to escape from prison in 1993. It was previously thought that he and his two fellow-prisoners had been released, but this report shows that three of them received long sentences.

Summary

On 18th February 1990 Tsering Dorje and his two friends (**Lobsang Tenzin**, also called **Buthug** [Bu-'grug], age 36, a farmer from Ser-sha-ting village near Kandze; and **Lobsang Tashi**, age 20, a farmer from 'Go-rtse), put up posters on walls in Kandze, which among other things said: "Tibet is free" and "Dalai Lama back to Tibet". On the 15th day of the first Tibetan month of the same year, they hoisted the Tibetan flag in De [Das] Monastery in Kandze. Immediately afterwards, they all fled to Lhasa.

The prisoners spent 25 days in Outridu prison before being moved via Chengdu to Kandze prison. In Kandze prison Tsering Dorje and his friends were interrogated on alternate days, and kept in solitary confinement. After a public sentencing rally in December 1990 they were transferred to the major regional prison at Minyak, and later sent to work at a nearby gold mine. Tsering Dorje managed to escape from the prison in February 1993 and fled to Dharamsala, but his two associates remain in prison. Tsering Dorje still has physical wounds as a result of torture. He has a wound in his stomach and pain in his head, but says that he has no psychological problems.

Arrested in Lhasa, October 1990

On 20th October 1990 Tsering and three others were arrested by police who had travelled from his home town in Kham to look for him, following tip-offs from local informants. Tsering was arrested at a friend's house in Tsomoling in Lhasa at 6pm. His friend Buthug was arrested on the same day at midnight, in Sera Monastery. Tsering had already been warned that the police had been to his village to look for him. The police had found out that Lobsang Tenzin, Buthug and Tsering Dorje had distributed pamphlets and posters in their village. The pamphlets contained statements about independence: 'Tibetans are different from the Chinese', 'The oppression is unbearable' etc. On 7th September his closest relatives - father, mother, three brothers and his father's two brothers - were arrested in Kandze. They were released after a few days except for the father who was held for several months.

When Tsering heard that the police were looking for him he considered escaping, but it was too late; he was very soon arrested. He was taken to Seitu and interrogated. He was beaten and given electric shocks on his hands and throat (from the outside). The shocks on his hands were not too bad since he had learned from his 'rukhang' days when he was often given electric shocks that holding the baton very tightly alleviates the pain. The shocks on his throat were much more painful and afterwards he found it very hard to swallow. The worst however were the self-tightening hand-cuffs. His hands and arms started swelling and hurting as soon as he moved the cuffs a little.

For 12 days Tsering and Buthug were interrogated and tortured every day from 10am to 12 noon and from 2pm to 6pm. Tsering was repeatedly asked to give the names of other people who had helped him with the distribution of pamphlets. After 12 days Tsering and Buthug were left alone, without being interrogated.

Transferred to Kham: Public Sentencing

13 days later they were taken to Lhokha in separate trucks. On the way they were kept in hand-cuffs and occasionally given electric shocks. After one night in a guesthouse in Nodutang (Lhokha) they were taken on to Chengdu. They spent 6 days in a detention centre. On the first day in Chengdu they were interrogated and tortured. After 6 days they were taken to Dartse-do [Tachienlu/Kangding] where they spent 4 days in a detention centre. On the day of arrival they were again beaten and given electric shocks during interrogation. Although Tsering and Buthug were never far from each other they had no chance to talk to each other.

Finally they were taken to Kandze prison. During the first two months they were interrogated and beaten every day. They were asked many different questions, including the names of other people and their aims for spreading pamphlets and posters. This process continued until 30th December, when the three prisoners were sentenced at a large public meeting. They were all charged with hoisting the Tibetan flag and putting up posters. Tsering Dorje was sentenced to 12 years imprisonment, Lobsang Tenzin (Butug) to 14 years, and Lobsang Tashi 4 years.

The meeting was held at a large military camp near Kandze called Bidang in Chinese. All Tibetans over the age of 18 in Kandze county had to go to this meeting, so there were at least 20,000 people. In Kandze there are about 10 families in one *rukhang* (unit), and the *rukhang* leaders were told before the meeting that the villagers would be punished if they didn't attend the meeting. This large-scale meeting was held because it was the first time that there were signs of unrest in Kandze; such meetings had been common up until 1988. At the meeting the villagers were surrounded by soldiers with machine guns. The three prisoners were on a stage in front of the public. They were tied with rope and chains and had to bow their heads. They were the only ones on trial. The Chinese leader (*turen*, Chinese: *zhuren*) of Kandze county spoke through the loudspeakers. Tsering recollected the official as warning that in future punishments for supporters of the Dalai Lama would be more severe. Many of the villagers reacted by crying.

Before the incidents there were only 100 soldiers at the military camp. The *turen* announced that there would henceforth be 10,000. Before the meeting many soldiers had arrived by truck and now occupied the many old buildings at the army camp. Later Tsering Dorje's relatives confirmed that there were still many soldiers in Kandze.

Transferred to Minyak Gold Mine

One month after the sentences had been announced, Tsering Dorje and the two other prisoners were taken from the small detention centre at Kandze to the main prison at Ra-ngakhang in Minyak (Chinese: *shinduchang*). There he had to attend re-education sessions for two months, and he worked as a sweeper.

Most of the prisoners from his prison did farm work, but the "healthy" ones were selected for work at a local gold mine. After two months Tsering was sent with them to the mine in Gatha, near Ra-ngakhang, 30 kms east of Kandze on the road to Chengdu, above Tagserdu; he worked there again from April 1992 until digging stopped for the winter in January 1993. Several thousand people are employed in this large open-cast mine of whom about 200-300 are prisoners, about 6 or 7 of whom, including Lobsang Tashi and Butug, were political prisoners. One of the political prisoners there was Dala Gampo, a 60 year old man who was sentenced for life after he killed several Chinese soldiers in 1949. Before 1979 many political prisoners were working in the mine but during the 1980s most political prisoners were transferred to other places. The prisoners are kept separate from the ordinary workers.

All political prisoners in the mine were Tibetan, and most of the non-political prisoners were Chinese. The area where the 300 prisoners worked was separated from [the rest of the gold mining area?], which was about 25 sq. kms (5 x 5) that had been fenced in. There was no difference in the way political and non-political prisoners were treated. All prisoners had to go for re-education. Every morning they all had to sing the Chinese national anthem.

At night all prisoners slept in Utatu prison, in Gatha, very close to the mine. There were about 100 guards and 30 policemen. The police always took prisoners to the mine in the morning and fetched them in the evening. All guards were Chinese; some of the policemen were Tibetans. Every day some prisoners were beaten for some reason or another, often for complaining or not working hard enough. Sometimes a meeting would be called during which some people were hand-cuffed and given electric shocks. Those who had to watch it often cried. There were many of these meetings during Tsering Dorje's stay in the mine. Most of the torture was carried out by policemen. Sometimes they were drunk and came to the cells in the middle of the night to beat some prisoners.

There were about 15-20 prisoners in one cell about 5 x 4 metres in size. There were a few big wooden boards on which several prisoners slept during the night. At 10pm the cell door closed. Anybody who had to go to the toilet between 10pm and 7am in the morning had to use a small tin. The Chinese and the Tibetan prisoners mixed quite well. The Tibetan prisoners often gave some of their *tsampa*, which they had received from visitors, to their Chinese mates. Most Chinese prisoners never had any visitors, since they lived too far away. Every month the prisoners were allowed to receive relatives for 30 minutes. The relatives could bring as much food as they wanted.

At 8am until 12 noon and from 1pm until midnight all prisoners had to go to work. They had to dig pits two or three storeys deep, which they climbed in and out of by using wooden ladders. Each person had to produce 2.5 *fang* (cubic metres) of soil per day. If they worked very hard, their work would be completed by 4 in the afternoon; if a person couldn't finish his work at the usual time he would be required to continue working. The 300 prisoners were required as a unit to mine 50 *khel* (grammes) a day. The production goal for the whole mine was 40 *gyamas* (half a kilo) of gold in 1992, but the prisoners produced a bit more. In 1993 the production target was raised to 60 *gyamas*. If a *rukhang* achieved this target the members got a small reward: a piece of soap or a cup. Moreover, if they had behaved really well they received a certificate. There were two types of certificates: *jikong* (best) and *piyang* (second best). Tsering Dorje never received prizes or documents. The prisoners did not receive any pay.

During the lunch break they got one piece of steamed bread (*tin-mo*) and some boiled vegetables. The prisoners were only given one pair of shoes each year. Sometimes their hands would be tied while the guards subjected them to a variety of threats.

The work was very hard. Many people suffered from wounds on their shoulders and backs. There was [only?]

one doctor in the camp who seemed very unqualified and always prescribed the same medicine. He hardly ever granted any prisoner sick-leave if this person had no wounds to show. Internal pain or diseases did not make any impression on him. Some people committed suicide while Tsering worked in the mine: one of his cell-mates hanged himself in their cell. The authorities did not pay much attention to suicide. The bodies were buried in the mine area.

Many of the non-prisoners were in fact subjected to forced labour. Every family in the area surrounding the mine had to pay a kind of tax which consisted of 10 *khel* of gold per year. For every *khel* they were paid 40 yuan. If one person worked every day he would fulfill this target in 3-4 months. He could then go back to his family and work as a farmer or nomad for the rest of the year. During winter the mine is closed between mid December and mid January. During this month prisoners receive intense re-education.

There are reports of plans to extend mining operations in Kandze, and in 1993 a new office was opened in Chegothi, Kandze district. This office, at which about 200 Chinese officials are working, has to co-ordinate efforts to mine gold on an even larger scale.

Many people tried to escape from the mine. In 1992 four people escaped, and all reached India. Most people who tried to escape did not make it but were caught and taken back to prison. In 1991 two prisoners were executed after an attempt to escape, and two others who were involved in the same attempt had their sentences extended by 14 years. None of them were political prisoners.

On 8th February 1993 Tsering Dorje managed to escape. He went to an official who was quite new and didn't know the regulations exactly. Tsering asked him if he could go [to a friend who worked in a nearby power-station] to get some firewood. The first time his request was turned down. After some time he went again and asked the same question. Again the official refused to give him permission. Finally, when Tsering had gone for the fourth time, the official said: 'I'll give you permission, but you have to be back in 30 minutes, otherwise we'll come to look for you.' Tsering quickly crossed the river and disappeared into a dense forest. He remained in hiding until sunset, then started walking. When he met some nomads he talked to them and exchanged his clothes with them. After 5 days he reached Ngaba, from where he was able to walk for 20 days to a town from which he could get transport to Lhasa, where he stayed for one month before managing to escape with a group of 57 others across the mountains to Nepal. Lobsang Tenzin and Butug are still in the prison in Kandze, where they are reported to have been placed in solitary confinement after Tsering's escape.

Police Violence in Southern Tibet:

Tourists Beaten, Tibetan Shot

TIN News Update/ 16 November, 1993

Tibetans and western tourists have been beaten and injured by police and soldiers in southern Tibet during a spate of violent incidents over the last two months,

according to reports from travellers returning from the area.

Several Tibetans were injured in October and at least one was shot and wounded after soldiers from the local military garrison opened fire during an argument in the main street of Tingri, a small Tibetan town on the main road from Lhasa just north of the border with Nepal.

At least three tourists were injured by police in the Tingri area after disputing increases in fees imposed on groups visiting Mount Everest. In other incidents westerners were hurt when they tried to stop soldiers beating Tibetans, or when tourists were seen taking photographs of officials who had become violent.

Tingri Shooting: 23rd October 1993

A Tibetan hotel-keeper was shot twice by a Chinese soldier armed with a rifle during an incident in the main street of Tingri shortly before 10am on 23rd October, according to several foreign witnesses. The Tibetan was shot from the front through the leg and on the arm, according to the tourists, who gave first aid to the victim.

An American tourist who witnessed the scene said he saw about 25 Tibetans gathered in the street, including one man and a woman who were bleeding from head wounds. The Tibetans were facing two Chinese soldiers armed with rifles, standing about 10 metres away.

"About 5 or 10 of the Tibetans had rocks or sticks in their hands, but they seemed too afraid to use them. I heard at least 3 shots, and then I heard the women screaming and in tears," said the tourist, who also helped treat the wounded man. "Tibetans seemed cowed by the Chinese presence and I suppose one guy had a hot head and stepped over the limit and got shot", he said.

The man who was shot appears to have believed that the two soldiers had beaten the two Tibetans with head wounds, both of whom were also hotel-keepers. Local Tibetan sources said that the couple had been beaten when the soldiers had entered their hotel in Tingri and demanded money from them. Another source reported that the hotel-keeper and his wife had been beaten after an argument over a parked vehicle, and one local Chinese source, who was not a witness of the events, claimed that the hotel-keepers had demanded money from the soldiers.

The American tourist, who took video film of parts of the incident, left Tingri the next day when he heard reports that military officials were searching for tourists who had photographed the incident. Troops patrolled through the streets shortly after the incident and there were no reports of wider unrest.

Soldiers Use Pick-axe, Bottles, Nailed Stick

There have been several incidents where soldiers in Tingri appear to have used excessive violence to settle personal disputes. On 7th October an American tourist was attacked by a group of soldiers wielding a pick-axe and broken bottles after he tried to stop them beating a Tibetan boy. He was kicked by the soldiers and hit by a stone, but escaped injury because the soldiers turned to pursue the Tibetan boy, who was badly beaten.

The tourist, a 33 year old scientist from Utah, said that he had been with a friend in a restaurant at about 1pm on 7th October when 6 or 7 soldiers entered and surrounded a Tibetan boy aged about 20. The tourist said he had grabbed the wrist of one soldier who was about to hit the Tibetan boy with a stick with a nail in the end.

Later he followed the soldiers for a short distance into the street after they snatched a camera from another tourist who had tried to photograph them. "When I turned round to return to the restaurant I realised that I was surrounded", he said "There were about ten soldiers screaming at me, carrying bottles, a pick-axe, and large stones. The one with the pick-axe was swinging it back as if to hit me. At one point a soldier rushed towards me, smashed a bottle on a truck, and thrust the jagged end at my face."

Local Tibetans, apparently afraid, shouted or cried but made no other effort to help the American or the Tibetan boy. "The Tibetan women were actually pushing me out of the door of the restaurant and locking it behind me, making hand gestures about how awful the Chinese were. They had probably seen worse," said the American, who was not badly injured.

The soldiers attacked the Tibetan boy because he had earlier refused to hand over money to them, according to a Dutch tourist who had arrived in Tingri in the same vehicle as the boy. "We were driving past Everest just before going into the village [Tingri]," said the Dutch woman, a 26 year old music teacher from Utrecht.

"There were about five or six boys in the road holding up their hands. The driver tried to go round them but they jumped in front of us, pulled open the door and started screaming at the boy in Chinese, although he was Tibetan. He didn't say anything, he just kept shaking his head," she said.

The Tibetan boy was eventually caught by about 15 of the soldiers armed with bottles, and was badly beaten, with cuts and bruises about the eyes, the head and the legs, and two teeth loosened by blows to the face, according to the tourists, who drove with him to the next town. Before the tourists left an older soldier, in his mid-twenties, returned the camera that had been taken and apologised, but insisted on removing the film.

A Canadian travelling in a tourist landcruiser also on 7th October said that a Chinese person in Tingri had shouted at them and spat on their landcruiser when he saw that they were parking outside a Tibetan restaurant instead of a Chinese one. A Swedish tourist who was in Tingri earlier in the same week said that soldiers at an army base threw stones at her when she stopped to watch them from the road.

Tourists Injured by Police

At least three tourists were injured after minor disputes exploded into police violence at a checkpoint in the Tingri area in September. In one of these incidents an Italian woman required medical attention, including stitches, for her wounds after police threw stones at her.

One case of police violence took place on 14th September when an English student was given two electric shocks to the face by a policeman using a cattle prod, and then punched and kicked by the policeman, leading to a possible fracture of the jaw.

The policeman, who gave his name in Chinese as La Jiu, was at a checkpoint operated by the Tibetan Mountaineering Association, an official body, situated about 10 km from Tingri at the foot of the road leading to Rongbuk, site of the Everest base camp and a major tourist attraction.

Tourists normally pay 50 yuan (\$10) per person and 300 (\$60) yuan per vehicle for a permit to pass the checkpoint, but on 14th September officials told tourists arriving at the checkpoint that the vehicle fee had been doubled without warning to 600 yuan.

Tourists in Mr Day's group argued about the increase for an hour before the two sides agreed to settle on 540 yuan for the vehicle, according to the westerners. When the money had been paid the policeman asked for a further 10 yuan and Mr Day swore at him. "I have never seen anyone look at me with such hatred", said Mr Day. "He got out one of these cattle prods and hit me with it, giving me two shocks with it across the face and ripping the skin. I reeled back and I was so shocked I didn't retaliate, thank God. Then he was bearing down on me and punching me on both sides of the jaw, and then he started kicking me in the stomach."

The policeman then asked for the remaining 10 yuan and allowed the tourists to continue. He gave them a written receipt in Chinese, numbered 0025023, which he signed with the name La Jiu.

Mr Day later described the policeman as "a psychopath". "I can understand him lashing out at me with his cattle prod in a fit of anger - but that he carried on after that, punching and kicking me, was surprising," said the student. "I am amazed at the Chinese putting a person like that in this place", he added. "I dread to think how the police treat Tibetans in this area", commented a tourist who witnessed the incident.

On 13th September two other tourists were injured at the same checkpoint after they queried the unexpected increase in the fees to visit Mount Everest. Their group consisted of 11 tourists in two vehicles, including four British people, two Italians, two Israelis, one Dane and two Americans.

One of the officials at the checkpoint became aggressive during the discussion and kicked out at a woman tourist, according to other tourists in the group. When two Italians in the group attempted to restrain the official, another policeman threw large stones at the westerners and hit them with his electric cattle prod. Several of the tourists in the group were hurt, with one Italian receiving cuts and bruises from stones on his face and forehead, and another, an Italian woman, receiving a deep cut from a stone which hit her knee.

Several of the tourists informed their respective Embassies in Kathmandu, requesting that the matter be taken up with Beijing, but those who could be

contacted said that they had not yet heard of any response from the Chinese authorities.

Lhasa Incidents, 19th October: Cigarette Lighter

All the tourists contacted said that they suspected that the incidents were not isolated events but part of a pattern of similar events in the area. "These soldiers are so young and bored, and no-one seems to be in control of them", said one of the foreigners. "I got the impression that things like this happen in a routine way", commented the American who saw the Tingri shooting.

A Chinese-speaking tourist from Germany who spent three days in Tingri in October said that she heard Chinese soldiers habitually using abusive language towards Tibetans in the streets or in hotels in Tingri. There were unconfirmed reports that a western tourist was shot by a policeman in the Tingri area in 1992.

Incidents of violence to foreigners are only reported from the Tingri area, on the main tourist route to Nepal, but one report described apparently unprovoked police violence towards Tibetans in Lhasa.

At about 6pm on 19th October an American woman who was visiting the Barkhor, the Tibetan quarter of Lhasa, saw between six and twelve uniformed Chinese men beating a Tibetan on the ground. She was unable to say if the men were from the Public Security Bureau, the People's Armed Police, or another force.

The officials handcuffed the Tibetan and one of the uniformed men then burnt his handcuffed hands with a cigarette lighter, according to the tourist, who asked not to be named. The officers threw the Tibetan into a truck and drove away.

In another incident on the same evening in the Barkhor she saw a group of uniformed Chinese men pull a Tibetan man out of his truck, beat him, throw him into their vehicle and drive away. The empty truck was still in the street the next morning, with the driver's jacket still lying on the ground, according to the tourist.

Pomda Man Gets Four Years for Writing Slogans

TIN News Update/24 November, 1993 (part)

A Tibetan has been sentenced to four years imprisonment for writing "reactionary slogans" on the door of a government office in Eastern Tibet, according to the Chinese authorities.

The Tibetan, named by the Chinese as **Gyaga**, was found guilty of "counter-revolutionary propaganda and instigation" at a trial held "recently" by the Intermediate People's Court of Chamdo Prefecture, according to an announcement on 21st November by an official Chinese-language radio station in Lhasa. A translation of the statement from the "Tibet People's Broadcasting Service" was published by the BBC Monitoring Service yesterday.

The incident took place in **Pomda** (Chinese: Bangda), a "township" or group of villages in a largely rural area of Kham, the former province of Eastern Tibet, 600 km east of Lhasa. The area is situated between the upper

reaches of the Mekong and the Salween rivers, and lies within the Tibet Autonomous Region, close to the present-day border with Sichuan.

Gyaga, whose proper name is **Jampa**, was accused of writing "reactionary slogans" - probably in the form of a hand-written poster - on 6th July this year, and of putting them up "on the house number plate of the township's family planning service station". 6th July is still marked by Tibetans inside Tibet as the birthday of their exile leader, the Dalai Lama.

The radio announcement gave no indication of the contents of the slogans, but the term "counter-revolutionary" is used by the Chinese media to describe calls for Tibetan independence or for the Chinese to leave Tibet.

Gyaga's choice of the local birth control headquarters for his slogan suggests that he may also have criticised China's population control policies, which have been implemented by stages in Central Tibet since at least 1985, and probably in Kham from several years earlier.

The Tibet Government in Exile, in a report issued on 5th November 1993, named the arrested monk by his proper name, Jampa, of which Gyag is a diminutive form. The monk was said to be aged about 30 and to have been working as a cook at Pomda Monastery, according to the exile authorities.

This is the first known time in nearly three years that the Chinese authorities have broadcast any statement in Tibet announcing a political arrest or trial. Until 1990 such statements were frequent, but the Chinese-language broadcasts, which are monitored and published by the BBC and other agencies, led to international criticism of China's human rights policy in Tibet.

The last reported announcement by the Chinese authorities of a political arrest was on 3rd March 1991, when a Tibetan from Shigatse called **Sonam Wangden** was accused of being a spy for the exile Tibetan government.

News of a mass trial in Chamdo on 5th February 1991, during which four Tibetans were sentenced to five years each for "opposing socialism" and other political offences, had been broadcast in Tibetan, but not Chinese, three weeks earlier.

317 Tibetans have been arrested for political offences since March 1991, when the Chinese last broadcast news of such arrests, according to TIN's records.

The decision to broadcast news of the Pomda trial throughout Tibet suggests that the authorities want to put off other Tibetans with pro-independence sympathies. "The trial of this specific case served as an example in educating the masses", said the radio broadcast.

It noted that Gyaga's slogan writing "had created a very bad impact on society", a phrase which suggests that it led to further incidents in the area. Gyaga is the tenth person known to western agencies to have been tried in Chamdo since 1989 for political offences.

Letter from Chamdo

TIN Ref: JB-Nov93

A source in Chamdo wrote to a western friend at about the time of the August arrest a note about political activity in the town, quoted here verbatim:

Let me tell you a little bit about the real situation here these days. In Chamdo city, there are ten times as many Chinese as Tibetans. We have more than 500 Chinese stores here, but only 30 Tibetan stores. The Chinese look down on Tibetans and their unbearable repression of Tibetans continues. Everybody says the people from Kham are very fearless, so the Chinese send out their spies and security forces day and night. That is why the Tibetans do not have a chance to rebel against the Chinese or to demonstrate, but there are always posters that say-- "Chinese Go Home", and "Tibet is Independent", and "You Have Taken Tibet by Force, So You Should Die by Going Insane", and "Long Live His Holiness" -- these kinds of posters you can always see, and there are always pamphlets.

The letter also expressed gratitude "on behalf of all Khampa people" for the Tibetan language broadcasts of the US radio station VOA, with an additional note implying that an undisclosed number of people had been arrested in Chamdo for listening to the broadcasts.

Namrabshol Arrests

In November security was increased in Lhasa and political education teams were active in monasteries, in a move allegedly designed to prevent dissident activities in the build-up to the visit of the China's President, Jiang Zemin, to the Asia Pacific summit in the USA.

"Two to three days before the departure [on 16th November 1993] of the Chinese premier, Jiang Zemin, to the U.S.A., strong measures were taken with regard to all monasteries, strictly forbidding any nuns and monks from leaving their monasteries or nunneries." said a source in the Tibetan capital.

At the same time, all over Lhasa, all kinds of police and security agents were spread out in order to prevent any kind of action from or by the Tibetans, and they were not even able to move.

The increased security is reported to have led to a sweep of the monks' rooms at Ganden monastery, 40 km east of Lhasa, according to the same source, who said that one monk, whose name is not known, was arrested on about 20th November after a Tibetan flag was found in his room.

Three men were arrested in Namrabshol, a group of villages in Gongkar county, in Lhokha prefecture, Southern Tibet, on 21st November, according to two separate reports. Two of the three men - **Tashi Wangdu**, age 60, and **Dondrup**, aged 39, both laymen from the Namrabshol group of villages - were arrested and taken to Gongkar county prison after pro-independence posters were stuck up on walls throughout the valley, but they were later released after

police failed to find evidence to link them to the posters.

In an unusual development the two men refused to leave the prison until they were officially declared innocent and were told on what grounds they had been detained, according to one source. Local sources said that the police had assumed that the two men were connected to the pro-independence posters because they were "strong upholders" of Tibetan religion and culture.

A third man, an 18 year old monk named **Tashi** from Dakpo Dratsang monastery, was arrested in connection with the same offence and is believed to be still in custody in Gongkar county prison.

Arrests from Cave Temple:

Disappearance in Lhasa

TIN News Update/4 December, 1993 (part)

Two monks were arrested from a cave-temple in central Tibet in September, apparently because police found a Tibetan flag in the temple, and a business man has "disappeared" into police custody in Lhasa, according to reports which have only just reached the outside world from unofficial sources in the area.

The two monks, **Pasang** and **Jampa Sonam**, were taken on separate days from the famous hermitage at Drak Yerpa, 30 kilometres north-east of Lhasa. The site consists mostly of caves and is regarded by Tibetans as a "power-place" because two of the most famous mystics of the Tibetan Buddhist tradition lived there in the eighth century.

On 27th August this year the local Party Secretary, head of Dromtse township, visited the main temple at Drak Yerpa, according to local sources, and found a Tibetan flag on a shrine dedicated to Palden Lhamo, regarded by Tibetans as the protectress of Lhasa. Earlier reports from tourists said that pilgrims visiting the temple had been treating the flag as an object of religious veneration.

The flag, which shows two snow lions dancing in front of a range of snow-covered mountains, is the national symbol of Tibet, and is forbidden by the Chinese police. In December 1988 police shot dead on sight two monks carrying similar flags in Lhasa.

At noon the next day, 28th August, 2 policemen arrived in a vehicle and checked the room of Pasang, a 19 year old monk at one of the small temples at Drak Yerpa. After a 90 minute search of the monk's room, during which the police are believed to have found nothing, police arrested the monk and took him to the prison at Taktse, the local county administrative seat. Pasang's ordination name is Lobsang Donyo.

Two weeks later, at around 7.30 am on 15th September, police came to the temple and arrested a second monk, 22 year old Jampa Sonam, who is also known by his ordination name of **Lobsang Choedrak**. Several sources said that the monk was beaten by the police during the arrest. "Many people witnessed him being arrested and beaten", one local resident told TIN, on condition of anonymity.

"He was beaten really badly while he was in the police car driving from down from the temple to the village of Yerpa approximately four kilometres away", said one western tourist who spoke to people who saw the monk in bad condition at the end of the journey to the village.

At about 8pm on the night before his arrest Jampa Sonam had been sent a message from the local administration telling him to go immediately to their offices in Dromtse township, a group of villages which includes the hermitage site, according to the local resident. "He had said that he was sorry, but that he could not go that same evening," said the source, speaking a few hours after the event. The reasons for the summons and for the arrest are unclear, but local monks said it was connected to the discovery of the flag in the temple.

There are believed to be 14 monks tending the temples at Drak Yerpa, all of which were flattened during the Cultural Revolution but have been recently rebuilt; and a further 64 caves in which practitioners, mainly from Eastern Tibet, are currently living as hermits.

Drak Yerpa Arrests: Eyewitness Account

Lobsang Tsultrim, a monk at Drak Yerpa, left Tibet after police found out that he had had some copies of the Tibetan flag, which is illegal in Tibet. He reached Dharamsala, Northern India, in December 1993 and gave TIN a detailed account, which is summarised here, of the arrests of Pasang and Jampa Sonam from Drak Yerpa. (TIN Ref: 9(FV))

The incident at Drak Yerpa began when one of the monks brought a Tibetan flag with him when he returned from a visit to Lhasa. A monk called **Jampa Sonam** showed the flag to his friend **Pasang**, who put the flag in a frame and took it to Palden monastery in Drak Yerpa, where he was staying at the time.

On the 10th of the 7th Tibetan month (26th August), officials from four different offices in Taktse *xian* (county) came to Drak Yerpa monastery, to investigate reports that the monks had a few Tibetan flags and some pro-independence pamphlets. When the officials found the flag they asked **Bhu Tsering**, a monk-official at the monastery, where it had come from and whose it was. Bhu replied that he didn't know anything about it. Then the officials asked Pasang whether he knew anything about it. Pasang said that the flag came from a temple. The officials left, but after some time four more officials - two men and two women - came back and asked the same questions. They took the framed flag with them and left.

On the 13th (29th August), in the morning, 2 policemen, along with Bhu Tsering and **Samten Drolma** (both working at the monastery as officials) came to the monastery again to make enquiries. They spoke with **Lobsang Gyaltzen**, who was in charge of the political re-education of the monks. They asked many questions and took some photographs, including one of Lobsang Tsultrim, who was dealing with the monastery accounts at that time.

The policemen asked Pasang to take them to the cave where he was staying at that time. They searched all his belongings and found a wooden board on which he

had written "Free Tibet". They also found a small booklet in which the same words were written on the cover page.

The police took Pasang and Lobsang Tsultrim to Resong gonpa, a monastery at the foot of the hill on which Drak Yerpa is situated, where the two monks were interrogated separately. Lobsang kept saying that he didn't know anything about the flag, but that he thought that it should not be forbidden to place the Tibetan flag on the land of Tibet. The police warned him that he was supporting Pasang. Since Lobsang Tsultrim had an official position in the monastery as account-keeper, he was asked why he had not prevented Pasang from placing the flag in the monastery. Lobsang Tsultrim replied that he had been in Lhasa when Pasang framed the flag, and that he had not seen the flag when he returned.

In fact this was not true: Lobsang had seen Pasang framing the flag. The officials told Lobsang: "If we find out that you were in the monastery at that moment, what shall we do with you?". Lobsang Tsultrim replied: "You can do whatever you like with me."

Then the officials (who were all Tibetans) asked Lobsang many questions, but he didn't reply. They took his thumb-print and asked him to call Pasang. Lobsang went back to Drak Yerpa monastery, where he stayed with his teacher for one and a half hours. He asked a small boy to go down and check whether the police were taking Pasang with them or not. The small boy went down and shouted back up to them: "They are taking Pasang!"

Pasang's arrest

Lobsang quickly changed into lay-clothes and went down with a blanket and Pasang's clothes. He was accompanied by Jampa Sonam. Sonam and Gyatso Lobsang were allowed to give the blanket and the clothes to Pasang, but he was not allowed to give Pasang some *tsampa*. When the police jeep was about to leave, Lobsang said: "The flag has never been shown. It was only inside the monastery. There was no demonstration". The police replied "We are no wolves. We see reasons to arrest Pasang. We are not arresting just anybody". Lobsang gave the monastery keys to the policemen and said: "You should take over the responsibility for this place yourselves. Then you can see for yourselves that we are not doing anything wrong". The policemen refused to take the keys and told Lobsang: "You just say anything which enters your mind. We'll soon come back to arrest you".

Then Jampa Sonam pleaded with the police not to beat Pasang. Then the police replied: "We never beat anybody. You don't need to ask this".

Pasang was taken to Taktse county prison. After 3 days Jampa Sonam went there to visit Pasang and to bring him some food. He was not allowed to go in to the prison, but he was able to leave the *tsampa* which he had brought with the guards.

After 5 days the police called **Phurbu**, a Drak Yerpa monk, to Phondo Chu, for questioning. Phurbu, accompanied by **Gyatso**, was interrogated and asked whether he had anything to do with the flag, but he

denied any involvement in the incident. Then he was shown the booklet which the police had found in Pasang's cave. The police asked Phurbu who had written the slogan "Free Tibet" on the first page. Phurbu admitted that he had written this, but that he was only practising his handwriting when he wrote it. The police advised him not to write these words again and allowed him to go back.

Arrest of Jampa Sonam

After 3 days the police called Jampa Sonam, who had taken responsibility for Pasang's behaviour when he entered the monastery. The police asked Jampa Sonam: 'Where were you when Pasang was framing the flag?' Jampa Sonam replied that he didn't know anything about it. The police asked him many questions, but finally let him go on the 28th of the 7th Tibetan month (14th September).

Lobsang Gyaltsen and **Ngawang** (both monastery officials) came to the monastery and searched Lobsang Tsultrim's room. Lobsang Tsultrim was not there at that moment; he had gone out to fetch water. He had left a detailed note in his room with all the dates and circumstances of Pasang's interrogations and arrest. Lobsang Gyaltsen found this note and told Lobsang Tsultrim, 'Even if a small goat eats a lot, he cannot pull down a big pole'. Lobsang Gyaltsen told Lobsang Tsultrim that he was looking for about 100 people in the Drak Yerpa area, but that Lobsang Tsultrim was not one of them:

'You are too small to do anything important.', he said. 'Don't think that Tibet will get back its independence. Even when the Communists are beaten, the Kuo army [the KMT or Taiwan Government] will take over the rule of Tibet.'

Then Lobsang Gyaltsen said that they had come to arrest Jampa Sonam. Lobsang Tsultrim didn't answer him. Jampa Sonam was not in the monastery at that time. Lobsang Gyaltsen and Ngawang waited until he returned from a retreat in the evening, when he was told that he had to come to the police station. Jampa said that he was not at all prepared to come, because he had some small jobs to do. Lobsang Gyaltsen and Ngawang allowed him to stay for one night and took him to the police station very early the next morning.

For the next 3 days Lobsang Tsultrim did not hear any news about Jampa Sonam or Pasang. On the 4th day he received a letter from the Taktse county prison authorities, which said that he should bring blankets and clothes for Jampa Sonam.

Ngawang (who was widely distrusted by the monks) took Jampa Sonam's clothes and blankets, and went to Jampa Sonam's family. He got the family members to take the clothes and blankets to the prison.

After some days, the prison authorities called Ngawang and another person (who was a spy for the Chinese) to the police station, where they were asked whether they had any news about the situation in the monastery. Ngawang told them that there was another flag in the monastery, which, he said, **Buchung**, the younger brother of Lobsang Tsultrim, knew something about.

The next day, Buchung, who was only 12 years old, was called to the police office at Phondo Chu. The officials threatened Buchung, saying that they would put him in prison if he didn't speak the truth. Buchung was very frightened. But he didn't give any names to the police and after a while he was allowed to leave.

Meanwhile Lobsang Tsultrim took the cotton flag, which was hand-painted, and got rid of it. There were some printed paper flags as well, which he put in his pocket and carried around for 15 days.

Then Lobsang Tsultrim heard from a friend that a monk who was an informer Ngawang had given his name to the authorities, and that they were about to arrest him. The informer-monk was also said to be planning to take over Lobsang Tsultrim's job as monastery book-keeper after his arrest.

Lobsang Tsultrim decided to escape. He got permission to attend a religious ceremony in Drepung monastery, near Lhasa. He went to the monastery, where he stayed from the 2nd to the 24th of the 9th Tibetan month (17th October - 8th November 1993). During those 22 days the informer-monk came to see him under the pretext of having come to Lhasa to do some shopping. In the evening of the 24th day (10th November) Lobsang Tsultrim left Lhasa.

Just before he left he tried to visit Jampa Sonam in prison, but he was not allowed to go in. From a relative of Jampa's he heard that Jampa had been taken to the county hospital in Taktse several times. Each time he had been allowed to stay the night, and then been driven back to the prison the next morning.

Lobsang Tsultrim arrived in Dharamsala, Northern India, in December 1993, and was interviewed there for TIN on 22nd December.

Motor-bike Dealer Disappears

TIN News Update/4 December, 1993 revised (part)

In Lhasa a Tibetan motor-bike mechanic who disappeared in September is now believed to be in police custody, according to sources in the city.

Lobsang Dawa, a 35 or 36 year old business man from Toelung Dechen near Lhasa, disappeared on 1st September. "He was gone for 20 days and nobody knew that he had been taken," said a source in Lhasa. His family were unable to find out where he was until 20th September, when police informed them that he had been imprisoned on suspicion of involvement in the Tibetan independence movement.

Police were reported to have been trying to find out if Lobsang Dawa had recently been to India, indicating that they suspected him of having contacts with the exile Tibetan government.

The case is part of an increasing trend of arresting dissidents in secret, often at night or while their neighbours are away, and not to provide information about their whereabouts. The practice is associated with the China's State Security Bureau, which currently dominates the arrests and security policy in Tibet.

"The sad thing now is that Lobsang Dawa and many others have been arrested away from public view", commented one source in Lhasa on the increase in disappearances. "They wouldn't tell his family where they had taken him. So we are worried about him, and so we appeal to the United Nations and the Chinese government", said another source, who asked not to be named. "Since then there has been no news of him at all", they added.

A separate source said it was assumed that he was held in Seitru prison, north-east Lhasa, where at least 10 others arrested by the State Security police since May this year are being held.

Lobsang Dawa, whose family name is **Khatag Zhiga**, lived in Chungalin Trongsa in North Lhasa. He worked as a receptionist at a hotel in Lhasa until 1991 when he started his own business, repairing and selling cars and motorbikes. He has a younger brother, a monk, who was imprisoned for involvement in a pro-independence demonstration in 1989, but has since been released, according to the sources in Tibet. Lobsang Dawa is said to have been active in 1991-92 in local opposition to tax increases imposed on the transport of goods. He is also said to have been involved in campaigns against increases in fuel prices.

Tibetan Communists Petition UN to Release Prisoner

TIN News Update/10 December, 1993 v3 (part)

Over a hundred people inside Tibet, including members of the Communist Party and government officials, have sent signed petitions asking the United Nations to arrange the release of a human rights activist held in solitary confinement for the last seven months in a Lhasa prison.

Gendun Rinchen, a Lhasa tour guide, was caught by police on the night of 13th/14th May 1993 as he was preparing to hand over information about human rights abuses to a team of visiting European diplomats.

This is believed to be the first time so many Tibetans have dared to put their names to an international petition, and the first time that Tibetans inside Tibet have directly appealed to the UN to help release a named prisoner. The 110 signatories would have faced severe punishment from the Chinese Government if the documents had been intercepted by the police and their names discovered.

The petitions, copies of which have been seen by the Tibet Information Network, an independent monitoring organisation based in London, indicate a widening base of support for Gendun Rinchen and his neighbour, former monk **Lobsang Yonten**, who have both been accused by the Chinese Government of stealing "state secrets", a term which includes revealing the names of political prisoners.

"If Gendun Rinchen dies in prison, all the Tibetan people will join together in an uprising against the Chinese: he is seen as a representative of all the people of Tibet", says one petition. Under Chinese law the tour guide and the monk could be sentenced to death for the offence.

The petitions come from Tibetan towns up to 500 km apart, suggesting a formidable achievement by the Tibetan underground movement, who must have co-ordinated the collection of signatures in total secrecy.

Almost all the petitions call on the UN to intervene with the Chinese Government about the prisoners. Most of the 22 separate documents end with the phrase "We and all the Tibetan people hope that the UN will appeal to the Chinese government for the immediate release of Gendun Rinchen", or a similar request.

"Gendun Rinchen was following the peaceful path to improving the human rights situation in Tibet. He criticised the Chinese government, and for this he was arrested," says one of the signed petitions. Several of the documents question the validity of the arrest. "What kind of wrong deed has Gendun Rinchen done?", says one. "We need an answer." Another simply asks "Gendun Rinchen is in prison: what was his crime?"

"He was wrongly accused and has done nothing wrong; his arrest is proof of injustice", says one petition, which has been sent from a remote town in Southern Tibet. "Please help these two prisoners to obtain freedom".

Several complain that the prisoners have been held without access to visitors, so that they have received no extra food packages while in custody.

Many of the petitions use similar language and have clearly been carefully co-ordinated. The 22 separate petitions were collected during late July and August from a wide area of central Tibet, with one coming from Gyantse and another from Kongpo Nyingtri, 500 km to the east. Another has been sent from a remote town in Nagchu prefecture, while one comes from a town 400 km to the south, near Tibet's border with Bhutan.

But some of the documents come from completely different sources, and appear to be spontaneous. Some may be from friends of the prisoners, like one which says the prisoner's dependents have been left helpless by the imprisonment: "Back in Gendun Rinchen's house his father is an invalid and is totally dependent on him," it argues, "So because of this, Gendun Rinchen should be released."

The most important petition is from three men in a town outside Lhasa who say openly that they are writing to the UN as members of the Communist Party. "Gendun Rinchen was arrested and wrongfully accused by the Chinese government. He was working for freedom and human rights for Tibet, and we hope that the UN will appeal to the Chinese government for the immediate release of Gendun Rinchen", say the Party members. Their petition hints at disarray within the ranks of the Tibetan branch of the Communist Party.

Another petition has been sent from "a number of young Tibetans working in Chinese Government offices". "We hope that the torture and oppression will be stopped, and that all the political prisoners will be released, especially Gendun Rinchen," say the officials.

The petitions are likely to be dealt with by the UN Working Group on Arbitrary Detentions, which is based in Geneva.

Chinese Claim Release of Damchoe Pemo

The main interrogation of the two prisoners has now been completed, according to unofficial sources in Lhasa, and the authorities are expected soon to announce the formal charges for which the prisoners will be tried.

For the last seven months the prisoners have been held without charge, although the Chinese Government has already announced that they are guilty of "stealing state secrets". The prisoners have not been allowed to see any visitors and are still held in solitary confinement in Seitru prison, part of the Sangyip prison complex in a north-east suburb of Lhasa. These conditions could ease now the main interrogation process is over.

Despite calls in June this year from the European Community, as it was then known, for the release of the two prisoners, Beijing has hardened its public position on the two men, initiating a virulent campaign in the Tibetan press against "spies" and separatist agents who pass information to foreigners. But but there are increasing signs that the Chinese may be prepared to bargain with the international community over related issues, and it has softened its stance on a third prisoner associated with the two prisoners, Damchoe Pemo.

Damchoe Pemo, a 26 year old Tibetan woman who was also arrested as a suspected dissident in May this year and who reportedly suffered a miscarriage due to ill-treatment whilst in custody, has now been released, according to an unconfirmed claim by the Chinese Government.

The claim was made to the Belgian Ambassador in Beijing, who raised the issue of the prisoners at a meeting where he represented the European Union with the vice Foreign Minister, Jiang Enzhu, in Beijing on 29th October. The Ambassador was told by Jiang that Damchoe Pemo has been freed, according to a British Foreign Minister, Alastair Goodlad. "We welcome news of Ms Pemo's release", said Mr Goodlad.

Officials in London pointed out that the Chinese claim was made just days before a summit meeting between the Chinese and US Presidents in Seattle, and could have been intended to improve China's image with the American administration or to lessen international pressure over Gendun Rinchen.

There is no confirmation from Lhasa of the release, which could be a form of partial release such as medical parole, which amounts to house arrest.

Campaign Against Spies

There has been a major increase in propaganda activity in Tibet on the importance of preserving state secrets, with aggressive articles appearing in official papers and on the radio warning Tibetans of the heavy penalties they face if they pass information to foreign spies.

The warnings in Tibet, which are part of a China-wide campaign to increase knowledge of China's revamped State Security Laws, focus for the first time not just on the threat of spying by the exile Tibetans, but also on the prevalence of spies from western organisations.

The campaign appears to be part of an attempt to generate widespread fear of foreign threats in order to secure local support before announcing the charges and setting up the trial against Gendun Rinchen and Lobsang Yonten. It implies that heavy charges will be brought against the two men, and that they could be used as "examples" to illustrate the present campaign. In theory the penalties could still be subject to bargaining between governments. The penalties are usually decided at a secret pre-trial sentencing meeting about a month before the trial, which typically takes place around one year or 18 months after detention. To have any reasonable hope of effect any international pressure on behalf of the prisoners has to happen in the next few weeks before the pre-trial sentencing meeting takes place.

Nuns Sentenced to 7 years for June "Incident"

TIN News Update/10 January, 1994 revised

The Chinese authorities in Lhasa have sentenced 12 nuns to up to seven years for taking part in a pro-independence incident last June which no-one seems to have seen and which may never have happened.

The imprisoned nuns - who include a 15 year old girl - come from Garu nunnery, 5 km north of Lhasa, and were arrested on 14th June 1993. There are no reports of any demonstration in or near Lhasa that day, and some sources say that the nuns were arrested before they had managed to begin any protest.

Two of the nuns, **Ngawang Dedrol**, age 25, from Chumda township in Medrogungkar county and **Phuntsog Choekyi**, age 22, from Kache township in Phenpo Lhundrup county, have now been sentenced to 7 years in prison for their part in the incident or attempted incident, according to unofficial sources.

Ngawang Keldron, a 19 year old nun from Meldro Gyama, has been sentenced to 5 years in prison.

Nine other nuns from Garu who took part in the 14th June incident have been tried and given sentences of between 2 and 4 years, according to unofficial sources in the capital. The date of the trial is not known, but must have been within the last three months. The Chinese authorities have not issued any public statements on the convictions.

Eleven of the 12 Garu nuns have now been moved to Drapchi prison in Lhasa, officially known as Tibet Autonomous Region Prison No.1, where the most serious offenders are held, bringing the total number of nuns imprisoned there for political offences to 49, according to some reports. 32 of the women in Drapchi are believed to be nuns from Garu. There are thought to be 124 monks and 35 laymen held in Drapchi prison for political offences.

Two other Garu nuns, **Ngawang Yangkyl** and **Gyaltsen Tsultrim**, both aged 22 and from Nyangdra township in Lhasa, were tried and sentenced at the same time to imprisonment in Drapchi prison, according to the reports. The two nuns had been arrested after they

started a brief demonstration in the centre of Lhasa on 4th June 1993. Their sentences are unknown.

Within days of the 14 Garu nuns being arrested the Chinese authorities in Lhasa sent a 'work team' composed of Communist Party officials to the nunnery to begin a 3 month series of political re-education sessions with the remaining 90 women at Garu.

The youngest of the 12 nuns believed to have been accused of involvement in the 14th June 'incident' is a

15 year old girl, **Gyaltzen Pelsang**, who is too young to be admitted legally to a prison, according to Chinese laws. Gyaltzen Pelsang is believed to be held in Gutsa Prison, not Drapchi Prison. Gutsa prison, used mainly for prisoners awaiting charges or decisions on their cases, is believed to have a special section for children sentenced to detention. Under Chinese law children cannot be held at an adult prison like Drapchi but can be detained in a special juvenile detention centre, such as at Gutsa. Children are given indeterminate sentences, with their case subject to review every six months.

**Nuns from Garu Nunnery Arrested 14th June 1993
sentenced and held in Drapchi prison:**

Ngawang Dedrol, age 25, layname Rinchen Choedron, from Chumda township in Medrogyungkar county: 7 years
Phuntsog Choekyi, age 22, layname Dekyi, from Kache township in Phenpo Lhundrup county: 7 years
Ngawang Keldron, age 19, layname Goekyi, from Gyama township in Meldro county: 5 years
Gyaltzen Sangmo, age 24 layname Zompa, from Tsara village in Kongpo Gyamda: 3yrs
Ngawang Chendrol or **Ngawang Peldrol**, layname Phurbu Drolkar, age 18, from Yung-nga township in Phenpo Lhundrup county: 3yrs
Gyaltzen Kelsang, layname Kelsang Drolma, age 23, from Ngangdren township, Lhasa: 2yrs
Rinchen Drolma, age 23, from Phenpo Lungshoe: 2yrs
Gyaltzen Kunga, age 23, layname Yangkyi, from Thonchue village, Nyemo county: sentence not known
Ngawang Chime, age 19, layname Phurdrol, from Drigung or Meldro Gongkar Drangda township in Meldrogyungkar county
Ngawang Choekyi, age 21, also known as Ngawang Chelmo or Choegna, from Phenpo Lungshoe: sentence not known
Ngawang Palmo, layname Tsering, age 22, from Phenpo Lungshoe: sentence not known

Held in Gutsa Prison:

Gyaltzen Pelsang, age 15, layname Nyima or Migmar, from Trikhang village, Meldro Gyama: sentence not known

**Nuns from Garu Nunnery arrested in a demonstration on 4th June 1993
now held in Drapchi:**

Ngawang Yangkyi or **Ngawang Yangdrol**, age 22 layname Kunsang from Nyangra township in Lhasa: sentence not known
Gyaltzen Tsultrim, age 22, layname Migmar Tsamchoe or Migmar Choekyi, from Nyangra township in Lhasa: sentence not known

Nuns Protest after Re-education Campaign

TIN News Update/12 January, 1994

A 3 month campaign by the Chinese authorities in Lhasa to re-educate women in Tibetan nunneries led to a wave of demonstrations by Buddhist nuns in the Tibetan capital last month, with at least 22 women arrested, according to reports from Tibet.

There were six pro-independence demonstrations staged by Tibetan nuns, one on each day from 9th to 14th December, according to the latest reports from Lhasa. Earlier reports had referred to just two demonstrations in that period.

The names are known of 17 women who were arrested during the protests, all of them believed to come from Shungseb nunnery, 20 km south of Lhasa. Eight were detained for shouting "Tibet is independent" on the east side of the Barkor, the centre of the Tibetan quarter of Lhasa, at around 10 am on Thursday 9th December. They were named by unofficial sources as Rigzin Tsondru, Norzin, Champa Choekyi, Namgyal Choedron, Choenyi Drolma, Sherab Drolma, Norbu Yangchen, and Lodro Pema.

"These nuns were arrested by the Chinese plainclothes agents who usually hang around in the Barkor, and were then taken to the police station in the Barkor Square," said one Tibetan source.

On 11th December six nuns were detained during a similar protest. Their names were given as **Pendron**, **Yangdron**, **Yeshi Kunsang**, **Yeshi Choesang**, **Chime Wangmo** and **Tsering Choedron**. Three other nuns - **Yeshi Tsondru**, **Tsultrim Tharchin** and **Tsering Choekyi** - were arrested on 12th December.

A eyewitness contacted by TIN saw three other nuns being arrested on the southern stretch of the Barkor on Monday 13th December. The same source said that on Tuesday 14th December they saw two other nuns being arrested after a protest in the Barkor square in front of Lhasa's main temple, bringing the total of named or witnessed arrests to 22.

Unconfirmed reports claimed that five nuns from Drigung had been arrested on 10th December, and that three nuns from Chubsang nunnery had been arrested on Sunday 12th December. All the women had been

involved in protests calling for Tibetan independence, according to the sources.

A western tourist, interviewed in Kathmandu after arrival from Tibet, described by-passers gathering silently in response to the arrest of one group of nuns. "At about 2pm on 12th December I saw a crowd of 150 Tibetans in front of the police station on the Barkor square", said the westerner, a student, who asked not to be named. "They were silent, watching the police station with serious and concerned faces, in what seemed to me to be a silent protest."

Each incident lasted only a few minutes before the women were arrested, and most people in Lhasa remained unaware of the events. "As soon as they start to do something they are taken away, and it is all over so quickly that most Tibetans in Lhasa know nothing of these events", said an informed source in the capital.

Campaign to Re-educate Nuns

The nuns' protests follow a "political re-education" campaign by the Chinese authorities in the nunneries in the Lhasa area last autumn. The campaign is part of a concerted effort by the Communist Party in Lhasa to eradicate radicalism amongst nuns in the Lhasa area, who have led 55 of the 126 (43%) known pro-independence protests in Lhasa in the last six years.

The re-education campaign is the "soft" end of a dual policy which includes rigorous prison sentences for nuns who take part in or plan demonstrations. Earlier this week it was learnt that 14 nuns from Garu nunnery had received sentences of up to 7 years for planning or staging brief demonstrations in June last year.

The re-education strategy is carried out by "work teams", known in Chinese as *gongzuo dui* or in Tibetan as *ledun rukhag*, who last year spent up to 3 months in regular visits to each of the five main nunneries in or near Lhasa - Chubsang, Garu, Tsangkhang, Michungri and Shungseb. The teams, usually consisting of nine or ten party cadres, held indoctrination sessions and imposed new regulations, including a ban on admission to the nunnery for any woman who has been detained for political activities.

"When I left Trisam [a reform through education camp] they gave me a discharge paper and said I could return to the nunnery, but later I found I could not, because a work team is there," said an 18 year old nun from Michungri nunnery who fled to India after finishing a two year prison sentence in August last year.

Other nuns fleeing to India confirm that they have been refused re-admission to their nunneries after release from prison. **Tenzin Choekyi**, for example, released from Trisam prison on 14 October 1992 and now in India, says that she was not allowed to rejoin her nunnery, although she added that she was not missing very much as there was no teacher in Michungri. She was free to practise her religion at home and was also allowed to go to other people's homes to pray, as long as she did not go to Lhasa for religious teachings or prayer ceremonies.

Other regulations imposed by the work teams include a ban on nuns going into Lhasa without permission, as

well as the expulsion of nuns suspected of pro-independence sympathies. "These days there are about 37 or 38 nuns at Michungri compared to 90 in 1989 when the nunnery was restored", according to the nun from Michungri. "Most have been expelled or are in prison".

At Shungsep nunnery the work teams held a meeting in April 1993 at which they imposed a limit of 130 on the number of nuns that could live there, meaning that 70 women lost their right to reside there.

In Garu nunnery the work team arrived in July and persuaded the older nuns to sign an undertaking not to tolerate dissent by others in the nunnery. The older nuns were then told to persuade the younger ones to sign similar statements. "This caused some internal arguments", said one source, "but eventually by about August 18th everyone signed". The work team continued its re-education programme for three months, during which a number of nuns are said to have left for India, while others took jobs as road workers to avoid what was described as the "anger and frustration" inside the nunnery. 36 nuns from Garu are currently serving prison sentences for staging pro-independence protests.

Police Controls Increased

The protests began the morning after the *Ganden Ngamchoe*, an important festival which commemorates the death in 1419 of the Tibetan religious reformer Tsongkhapa, founder of the dominant Gelugpa sect. Tibetans mark the festival by placing thousands of butterlamps in their windows. "In the middle of the praying people started calling softly for independence," said one Tibetan who attended the Lhasa festivities on the evening of December 8th. "We could sense a very strong feeling of unity and solidarity among the Tibetans", a western tourist commented on the mood of people at the festival.

The nuns' protests were probably timed to mark December 10th, international human rights day and the anniversary a pro-independence demonstration in 1988, in which Chinese para-militaries shot dead two Tibetan demonstrators and injured at least 20 others, including a western bystander.

The security forces in Lhasa appear to have been expecting unrest on 10th December: a curfew was imposed on the major monasteries around Lhasa from 10th to 14th December, and checkpoints were placed on some of the roads leading to the city.

In the Barkor the two main police stations, which usually close at 6pm, were kept open at night. The number of uniformed police present in the Barkor for the week from 7th December was increased, with between 30 and 50 uniformed officers on duty at any one time, according to one source. Since 1990 police have preferred to keep a low profile in the capital and usually operate in plainclothes in the Barkor.

Chinese Release Gendun Rinchen

TIN News Update/13 January, 1994 v3

In an unprecedented development the Chinese authorities in Lhasa have released two of the most

prominent political prisoners in Tibet, according to the human rights organisation Amnesty International. There had been an international campaign for the release of the two men, but the news of the release was described by one expert today as "amazing".

Gendun Rinchen, a 45 year old tour guide, and **Lobsang Yonten**, a 64 year old former monk, were arrested in May last year for trying to pass human rights information to a group of visiting European diplomats.

Lobsang Yonten was released on Monday 10th January and Gendun Rinchen was released the next day. The Chinese Embassy in London said that it was unable to confirm the reports.

The releases could represent a major softening of Chinese human rights policy in Tibet. At the time of their arrest both men were publicly denounced by the Chinese Government as "splittists" who were guilty of "stealing state secrets", a term the Chinese authorities in Tibet use for human rights information. The men were liable under Chinese law to be executed if found guilty.

The prisoners are believed to have openly admitted that they collected information about human rights conditions in Tibet, but to have insisted that they were entitled to do this as a personal initiative, according to a report from Lhasa.

Until this week Gendun Rinchen, now the best known human rights activist in Tibet, had been held in solitary confinement for 8 months in Seitru prison, Lhasa.

Gendun Rinchen, voted top tour guide of the year in 1992, is said to be thinner but is "in sound health" and is "absolutely fine", according to a close source. Unusually for Tibetan detainees, [it appears that] neither of the two men had been tortured or beaten during their time in custody.

There is no indication as to whether the releases of Gendun Rinchen and Lobsang Yonten mean that all charges against them have been dropped, and it is possible that the releases are conditional or temporary.

The release of the two prisoners leaves approximately 300 other Tibetans in prison for political offences, all except 16 of them held for non-violent offences. 8 political prisoners remain in Seitru, where the two men were held, on suspicion of similar offences and under investigation by the State Security Bureau, including one man who has been badly beaten.

The Chinese authorities in Tibet have not previously released internationally known prisoners at such an early stage of imprisonment. Two well-known political prisoners were released last year after serving part of their sentences, but they had been severely tortured in custody for five years and were still released only on parole for medical grounds.

The development was described as "amazing" by one western expert on China, who said he had expected the two men to receive suspended death sentences. "It is an extremely positive precedent", he said.

Pressure from Inside and Outside Tibet

The two prisoners were supported by a strong wave of popular support inside and outside Tibet. 110 Tibetans, including members of the Chinese Communist Party, signed a secret petition in August last year which they sent from inside Tibet to the UN appealing for help to get the two men released.

News of the arrests was available to Tibetans only through foreign media, notably the Tibetan language broadcasts of the Voice of America. Members of Amnesty International sent thousands of postcards and letters into Tibet appealing for the release of the men which at the same time spread news that they had been detained.

One petition sent from Tibet last August appealing for help from the international community indicated that there would be disturbances if the two men were harmed. "If Gendun Rinchen dies in prison, all the Tibetan people will join together in an uprising against the Chinese," it said. "He is seen as a representative of all the people of Tibet".

The European Commission issued a statement calling for the release of the two prisoners in June 1993 and the European Parliament passed at least two similar resolutions last year. Pro-Tibetan lobby groups launched a world-wide campaign for the release of the two men, and on December 10th last year, international human rights day, protests were held outside Chinese Embassies in at least 9 different countries, including Japan, calling for the release of the two men.

A third political prisoner, **Damchoe Pemo**, whose release the European Parliament also called for last year, was released three months ago, according to an unconfirmed statement by the Chinese Foreign Ministry in October last year.

In the last year the US Government has increased pressure on China to improve its human rights record as a condition of renewal of its 'most favoured nation' status, which entitles China to special trade privileges with the US. The Chinese Government may be hoping that the releases will influence the State Department's annual report on human rights, due to be issued this month, which will have a decisive impact on whether China's MFN status is renewed.

The actor Harrison Ford and the Hollywood screenwriter Melissa Mathison, both of whom had travelled in a tour group led by Gendun Rinchen, appealed for his release in a BBC World Service broadcast last June and wrote a feature article in the New York Times in September calling on the Chinese Government to release him.

"It appears that a combination of co-ordinated pressure from both sides of the Atlantic and perhaps fear of the loss of MFN may have played a part in this decision," a Western diplomat told TIN.

One lobby group, the Tibet Support Group UK, had been planning to illuminate the front of the Chinese Embassy in London with a projected 30 foot high image of Gendun Rinchen tonight. A spokesman for the group said they were "ecstatic" to hear the news of his

release. "We hope that the Chinese will now issue a statement saying that all charges have been dropped", he added.

Tibetan Comment on the Releases: Political Purposes

A source in Lhasa gives their own view on the unexpected releases of the two prisoners, Gendun Rinchen and Lobsang Yonten. The writer, who asked to remain anonymous, suggests that the intention of the releases is to lessen international pressure and to divide the Tibetans amongst themselves. Later reports indicated that the Chinese authorities imposed conditions on Gendun Rinchen which include a demand that he has to remain in Tibet after release and resume his high-profile job as a tourist guide. Early releases of prisoners are usually assumed by Tibetans to be a reward for collaboration, and the conditions imposed on Gendun Rinchen have the effect of suggesting to other Tibetans in Tibet, most of whom do not know of the international pressure on this issue, that the prisoner has collaborated with the authorities (TIN Ref.: 7(YW)).

On January 8th 1994 kusho [respected] Lobsang Yonten was freed from prison. On January 11th kusho Gendun Rinchen was also released. But as there are so many prisoners still behind bars, people have had mixed feelings about the news. They are happy that these two have had their freedom but sad that there are so many people still imprisoned. Their release was sudden and unexpected but those who have been imprisoned for a long time, like Kusho Yulo, are still not free.

People consider this to be unusual behaviour for the Communists. They believe it is either simply a gesture or part of a more sinister intrigue. In fact, freeing them is due to political pressure; it doesn't indicate any genuine policy change. If this had been the case [and it had been because of a genuine policy change] then they should free all the other dissidents, as they have been imprisoned for the same reason: they too are prisoners of conscience.

[There are others besides] Genrin and Loyon [Gendun and Lobsang], [who] especially should be freed as they have been imprisoned for far more trivial offences. But they have not been.

Instead, the communists have behaved unusually in freeing these two in order to create divisions amongst the Tibetan people to further their own political ends. There is no suggestion in their behaviour that they have shown any regard for human rights, or that there is a relaxation of policy. It is also apparent that, although they frequently brutally torture other prisoners, these two got off quite lightly. This is probably because they are being saved for some future political purpose. [This because] these two, through their actions, have become well known throughout the world. As a result, it is clearly in the authorities' interests to let them go. Comparatively lesser known prisoners of conscience, like Sonam Gyalpo and Lobsang Tenzin, etc. have been dispersed to prisons in Tramo [Pawo], in Kongpo district and Shigatse, etc. The Tibetan people are very worried about these people and wish that they too might be freed. In June China's "most favoured nation" trading status comes up for renewal. Recently the Americans have boycotted Chinese textile exports. In addition, the American Secretary of State for the Treasury is planning a visit to inspect China's policy on human rights. These are the reasons why the two men were freed.

Walls of Spies

With these cases, although a released prisoner is supposed to be free, they have merely replaced the prison walls with walls of spies. [...] When [one prisoner I know] was released from prison, they told him, "If you have been tortured in prison, we would like to apologise to you on behalf of the Communist Party." He was then threatened however, with a return to prison, and all that it implied, if he recounted his experiences to anybody. [...]

In soft and hard ways then, they are trying to keep him silent. They told him, "The power of the Communist Party is matchless under the sky. In the future, if you get ideas above your station and act against the Communist Party, you will not escape its long arm. The Communist Party has greater powers than any of your Buddhist protectors and deities."

[...] As the release of these two men is a good thing, how would it seem if we gave the Communists a small pat on the back? But since there are so many prisoners still in jail, the people continue to have grave reservations about the authorities. They even suspect that some prisoners, once released, have switched allegiance and sided with the Communists, becoming their spies. Their suspicions are due, in part, to the released prisoners not speaking as freely and boldly as they did before they were arrested. It is also because whenever people in the prisons are interrogated, they are told time after time, "Why must you become prisoners and spend your whole lives locked up? Why don't you act like others and repent and regain your freedom?" Many people have been deceived and used in this way.

This is a dangerous political tactic of theirs, especially (in this case) as it means that people are now afraid that they risk imprisonment themselves if they have any close relationship with these two men. In this way, when other people are imprisoned, it is easy to suspect that [people who were released earlier] have given them up.

In my opinion, it is far better for more important prisoners, like Kusho Yulo, to be released than for a few others to be let go because of political pressure. What will happen is that the few that are released could be seen to be instruments of the Chinese, causing discord and distrust amongst the people and at the same time improving the international image of the Chinese. [...] What has happened has done nothing to alter the Communist Party's human rights record or its respect for the law.

Nun's Sentence Increased to 17 Years for Singing Song

TIN News Update/20 February, 1994 revised

14 nuns in a Tibetan prison have had their prison sentences doubled or tripled because they each sang a pro-independence song in their prison cell last June, including one woman whose sentence has been increased from 9 to 17 years, according to unofficial reports from Tibet.

The news of the increased sentences was first announced by the exile Tibetan government last month, but has now been confirmed by sources within Tibet, and details of the songs have been obtained by the

Tibet Information Network, an independent news organisation.

The nuns, who were originally serving an average of 5 years in Drapchi Prison for taking part in pro-independence demonstrations, now face an average of 11 years in prison because of the songs.

The increases have not been publicly revealed by the Chinese authorities in Tibet and sit uncomfortably with recent statements by the Chinese Government about the leniency with which Tibetan prisoners are treated. "Prison terms for 90 prisoners were reduced for their conscientiously having followed prison rules and truly repented during their sentences", announced Tibet TV on 31st January 1993, describing the reductions as an example of the China's policy of "integrating punishment with reform", according to the BBC Monitoring Service.

The news of the increased sentences is likely to set back any impression that China is softening its human rights policy. On 2nd February the Chinese Government confirmed the release the previous month of two prominent Tibetan political prisoners, following an international campaign by human rights organisations.

Sentences Tripled, Doubled

One woman amongst the 14 given increased sentences, a 24 year old nun called **Tenzin Thubten** from Michungri nunnery, has had her sentence increased by nine years, nearly tripling it from 5 years to 14 years, according to four separate sources.

The increased sentences were handed down at a trial in Lhasa on 8th October 1993, according to a report by the Tibetan Government in exile, which is based in Northern India.

Reports of the length of sentence handed down to the other 13 women vary, but the most authoritative source says that two nuns from Garu nunnery, 22 year old **Gyaltsen Drolkar** and 19 year old **Ngawang Sangdrol**, had their sentences tripled from 4 to 12 years and from 3 to 9 years respectively. Nine other nuns had their sentences doubled, according to the report, and 2 had 7 year sentences increased to 12 years.

The longest cumulative sentence was handed down to 27 year old **Phuntsog Nyidron**, a nun who was already serving a 9 year sentence, now extended to 17 years. According to a former colleague, the sentence reflects her social status not her offence. Phuntsog Nyidron received the longest sentence because she was the only one amongst the women who had held a semi-official position in her nunnery - she was the store keeper in Michungri, a tiny nunnery near Lhasa, until her arrest in October 1989.

Reports of the sentences first emerged when **Ngawang Kyizom**, a nun who recently completed a three year sentence in another of Lhasa's six prisons, went to visit a nun in Drapchi prison and discovered that her sentence had been increased by three years for involvement in the singing last June. Ngawang Kyizom brought the news to the outside world when she escaped to India in December 1993.

Tape recording

The sentences given to the nuns may have been exceptionally severe because the women recorded their songs on a tape-recorder that had been smuggled into the jail. In the eyes of the Chinese authorities the public distribution of the nationalist songs could have made the women guilty of "spreading counter-revolutionary propaganda", an offence considered akin to treason in western terms.

The tape of the nuns singing was circulated secretly in Tibet, and a copy is in the possession of the Tibet Information Network in London. Each nun announces her name and then dedicates a song or poem to her family or supporters, designed to show that the prisoners are in good spirits.

"All of you outside who have done all that you can for us in prison, we are deeply grateful to you and we will never forget you. Therefore I offer a song," says one of the nuns. "Please do not worry about us," says another nun on the tape, "We are surviving well and we remain united in our determination."

The nuns all sing refrains about separation from their parents: "I send my words of comfort to my parents: do not be sad - the time will come for our reunion", goes a verse sung by most of the women on the tape.

Buddhist nuns are expected to renounce their family ties when they take orders, and the word "parents" would be understood by Tibetans to refer to their religious tradition or "family" and to their spiritual teacher, in this case the Dalai Lama. He is referred to directly on the tape: "We remain firm in the belief that by the grace of His Holiness the Dalai Lama freedom will appear," says one of the nuns from her cell.

But the main purpose of the tape seems to be to reaffirm the prisoners' commitment to Tibetan independence, and it is clear that the songs about separation from parents also refer to separation from "the land of snow, my beloved great mother", which has been taken away.

*My parent's face will never be forgotten,
Oh Jewel of Wisdom, [the Dalai Lama] -
My country has not been sold: [it has been stolen].*

Almost all the nuns include in their song a refrain about the loss of their country:

*I am in prison but I have no regrets;
My country has not been sold: [it has been stolen];
For that we have shed so many tears,
Oh so many tears!*

The songs have been adapted by the prisoners to describe their current situation and give an impression of the experience of prison life: "Our food is like pig food, we are beaten and treated brutally," goes a song adapted from a traditional Eastern Tibetan poem which compares the Dalai Lama to the water that sustains the fish in a lake. "But this will never change the Tibetan people's perseverance: It will remain unflinching", it continues. One nun sings about the view from her cell:

*Looking from the window,
Seeing nothing but the sky
And the clouds that float in the sky,
Which I wish were my parents*

*We, the captured friends in spirit,
We might be the ones to fetch the jewel.
No matter how hard we are beaten
Our linked arms cannot be separated.*

*The cloud from the east
Is not a patch that is sewn,
And the time will come when the sun
From beneath the clouds shall appear.*

Background: Women in Drapchi Prison

All the nuns in Drapchi prison are serving sentences for taking part in pro-independence demonstrations in Lhasa since 1989. In August last year there were 55 women prisoners in Drapchi held for involvement in demonstrations, twice the figure held in 1991. All of the demonstrations were non-violent, mostly involving

less than half a dozen people and lasting less than five minutes. Until the October increase in sentences the longest sentence was the nine years imposed on the Michungri chant mistress Phuntsog Nyidron.

Recently 14 other nuns were sent to Drapchi for up to 7 years each for involvement in an attempted demonstration in June 1993, and in December 1993 at least 22 other nuns were detained for demonstrating, but are not yet known to have been sentenced.

The nuns are held in Unit 3 of Drapchi Prison, in cells separate from common criminals. The authorities decided in 1989 to keep political and ordinary criminals separate after they discovered that political prisoners in Drapchi had persuaded two Tibetan men serving sentences for murder to join a secret pro-independence group. The two men were executed in May 1990 for joining the group.

Names of nuns at Drapchi Prison given increased sentences in October 1993

| Ordination name | Age# | Layname | Nunnery | Date arrested | 1st sentence | 2nd sentence* | Total* | Birthplace |
|------------------|------|----------------|------------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|--------|------------|
| Ngawang Choezom | 22 | Pasang Lhamo | Chubsang | 21/03/92 | 5 yrs | 6 yrs | 11 yrs | Toelung |
| Gyaltsen Choezom | 21 | Penpa Choezom | Garu | 21/08/90 | 4a | 5 | 9 | Taktse |
| Gyaltsen Drolkar | 19 | Dawa | Garu | 21/08/90 | 4a | 8/3/4 | 12/7 | Meldro |
| Ngawang Sangdrol | 18 | Rigchog | Garu | 17/06/92 | 3 | 6/3 | 9/6 | Lhasa |
| Lhundrup Zangmo | 23 | Zangmo | Michungri | 21/08/90 | 4a | 5/3/4 | 9/7 | Phenpo |
| Phuntsog Nyidron | 23 | Tseten | Michungri | 14/10/89 | 9 | 8 | 17 | Phenpo |
| Tenzin Thubten | 20 | Dawa Yangkyi | Michungri | 21/08/90 | 5a | 9 | 14 | Meldro |
| Ngawang Choekyi | 23 | Yeshe | Samdrup Drolma + | 14/05/92 | 5 | 8 | 13 | Toelung |
| Ngawang Lochoe | 19 | Dondrup Drolma | Samdrup Drolma + | 14/05/92 | 5 | 5 | 10 | Toelung |
| Ngawang Tsamdrol | 21 | Dekyi Wangmo | Samdrup Drolma + | 14/05/92 | 5 | 5 | 10 | Toelung |
| Jigme Yangchen | 23 | Yangchen | Shungseb | 01/10/90 | 7 | 5/3 | 12/10 | Lhokha |
| Palden Choedron | 19 | Palden Yangkyl | Shungseb | 01/10/90 | 3b | 5/3/4 | 8/6 | Phenpo |
| Rigzin Choekyi | 20 | Yangzom | Shungseb | 22/09/89 | 7 | 5/3 | 12/10 | Lhokha |
| Namdrol Lhamo | 28 | Nyidrol | (none) | 12/05/92 | 6 | 6 | 12 | Tsang |

| | | | | |
|--------------------------------|--------|--------|----------|-----------|
| totals | 72 yrs | 86 yrs | 158 | yrs |
| averages using highest figures | | 5.14 | 6.14 yrs | 11.29 yrs |
| averages using lowest figures | | | 5 yrs | 10.14 yrs |

Age as given at the time of sentencing, +/- 1 year

* Alternatives are given for the increased sentences where the sources differ

+ Samdrup Drolma Lhakhang describes the temple in a monastery which is commonly known by the name of the local village, Toelung Nyen.

a - At the time of sentencing (30 November 1990) these four prisoners had their sentences pre-emptively reduced for prospective good behaviour by one year from the figure listed here (see Lhasa Intermediate Court Sentencing Document 1990 (34)); that one year reduction has probably been cancelled by the offence and is not allowed for here.

b - Palden Choedron's sentence is given by many sources after 1992 as seven years not three, so it may have been increased due to an unknown earlier offence in prison.

Songs of 14 Nuns: Excerpts

In June 1993 some Tibetans in Lhasa arranged for a tape recorder to be smuggled into the women's section of Drapchi, the Tibet Autonomous Prison No.1, where between 30 and 40 Tibetan women were serving sentences of up to 7 years each for having taken part in brief demonstrations calling for independence.

14 of the women prisoners recorded a number of songs on the tape recorder, mainly laments addressed to their parents and relatives or songs of praise for their exiled leader, the Dalai Lama. The women sing of their determination not to give up hope for independence, despite their prison sentences.

The tape was smuggled back out of the prison and copies were circulated amongst the underground movement in Lhasa.

On the original tape several of the songs are inaudible or are cut off abruptly because of interruptions. In this selection, 16 of the clearest songs have been included. Personal messages from the nuns to the Tibetan people have been edited out. The clearest song of all is the solo, Song Thirteen. The voice of the soloist has been modified electronically to protect the identity of the singer. Several of the songs are well known Chinese or Tibetan melodies, to which the nuns have altered the lyrics. These translations are approximate only. (TIN Ref: T1 (YP)-Ext)

The Songs

0'00" Song one (translation; lasts 1'20")

[...]

Where is my root lama?

The Chinese have expelled him.

We pray to all the Buddhas

Of the Ten Directions:

Look down on us and on Tibet

Land of snow, land of snow

My beloved country

The owner of the kingdom is

He, Tenzin Gyatso,

My root Lama, the Wish-fulfilling Jewel:

Let all Tibetans of the 3 provinces be united.

The time will come when the sun

Will no longer be covered by clouds.

1'15" Song Two: (partial translation; lasts 1'03")

My heart is the Dalai Lama:

He had to flee his birthplace.

The three provinces of Tibet are united.

From the place of religion

The Chinese must be expelled;

In one or two years more

We must regain our independence

2'18" Song Three: (translation; lasts 0'42")

[...]

His Holiness stays in the land of India

But his blessings flow back inside

His renown circulates around the world

La, la-la, la ...

[...]

3'00" Song Four: (repeats Song Three; lasts 0'37")

3'37" Song Five: (partial translation; lasts 1'36")

[...]

Unending torture cannot destroy me,

I didn't die [...] the all-knowing Conqueror

5'13" Song Six: (partial translation; lasts 0'47")

Inside Tibet we study for freedom

A freedom that comes from the Dalai Lama,

Inseparable from our parents.

All the Tibetan people work

Together for the freedom of Tibet.

6'00" Song Seven: (partial translation; lasts 0'35")

The roof of the world is my homeland

My leader is [the embodiment of] compassion

and kindness

Lit by the sunbeams of his compassion

The people of Tibet seek non-violence and

freedom

6'35" Song Eight: (translation; lasts 1'03")

The root-Lama of Tibet is the Panchen Lama.

When he lived, prisoners could be liberated

immediately from Tibetan prisons:

The barbaric Chinese eliminated him.

Our food is like pig food,

we are beaten and treated brutally,

and prison sentences imposed are limitless.

But this will never change the Tibetan people's

perseverance:

It will remain unflinching.

7'38" Song Nine: (partial translation; lasts 0'52")

There are bars on the windows

And iron on the doors

Inside the prisons of Tibet

the Chinese beat us.

Where is the freedom we once enjoyed?

Now under the Chinese we no longer are free.

8'30" Song Ten: (partial translation; lasts 0'37")

Sacred Conqueror

The snowland of Tibet is your birthplace,

All of the Tibetans are like your children

There are beatings without end

Under the Chinese there is no freedom

[...]

9'07" Song Eleven: (words not clear; 1'20")

From my embittered mind

I sing a sad song [...]

The Chinese have transformed our land of

Dharma [religion]

Into a giant prison

The unending torture which the Chinese have

inflicted on us

Could not destroy us:

We did not die

10'27" Song Twelve: (words not clear; lasts 1'29")

[Tenzin Gyatso...]

11'56" Song Thirteen: (translation; lasts 1'09")

Solo: voice modified to protect identity of source.

Looking from the window,

Seeing nothing but the sky,

The clouds that float in the sky

I wish were my parents.

We, the captured friends in spirit,

We might be the one's to fetch the jewel.

No matter how hard we are beaten

Our linked arms cannot be separated.

The cloud from the east

Is not a patch that is sewn;

The time will come when the sun

From beneath the clouds shall appear.

I am not sad.

If asked why,

Days will follow days

And the time of release

From here will occur.

13'05" Song Fourteen: (translation; lasts 1'35")

The fragrance of the lotus,

*Eclipsed by the sun,
Attracts the swarms of bees
Because of its natural sweetness.*

*Amidst the ranges of the land of snows,
Eclipsed by the sun,
The greenery of pastures
And the blueness of lakes
Are due to the waters of the snow.*

Translator's note: The lotus is a reference to the Dalai Lama, also known as phyag-na pad-ma, the lotus holder). "Eclipsed" refers to the darkness of the Dalai Lama's exile and to the darkness of occupation

14'40" Song Fifteen: (translation; lasts 1'22")

*My country has not been sold [but stolen]
We have sent letters of truth
We have sent letters
Parents of this lifetime
Please do not be sad
The time of our reunion will come.*

*My country has not been sold [but stolen]
We have shed so much tears
Oh so much tears!
Parents, so dear
Your kindness comforts us
The time will come for our reunion
I send my words of comfort to my parents
Do not be sad
The time will come for our reunion*

16'02" Song Sixteen: (same as Song Thirteen; 1'22")

*Looking from the window,
Seeing nothing but the sky,
The clouds that float in the sky
I wish were my parents.*

*We, the captured friends in spirit,
We might be the one's to fetch the jewel.
No matter how hard we are beaten
Our linked arms cannot be separated.*

*The cloud from the east
Is not a patch that is sewn;
The time will come when the sun
From beneath the clouds shall appear.*

*I am not sad.
If asked why,
Days will follow days
And the time of release
From here will occur.*

March Protests in Lhasa

TIN News Update/18 April, 1994

Small demonstrations have continued to take place in Tibet, with reports from unofficial sources of two incidents in March and one in February leading to 13 arrests.

The reported demonstrations in March, both involving less than half a dozen protestors and lasting only a few minutes, took place in the Tibetan capital, Lhasa. In the morning of 21st March three nuns gathered in the Barkor square, the heart of the Tibetan quarter of Lhasa, and began to chant slogans calling for "freedom for Tibet" and for the long life of the Dalai Lama. Another report also said that they called for "religious freedom" and for the Chinese "to leave Tibet and go back to China".

The three women were taken away by police and are reported to be detained in Gutsa detention centre, east of Lhasa.

"The nuns who were demonstrating looked quite young, aged about 18 or 19", said one Tibetan source, who added that the women were all originally from Phenpo Lhundrup, a rural county about 40 miles north of Lhasa. The nuns were members of Garu nunnery, a small nunnery north east of Lhasa from which over thirty women are already serving long prison sentences for demonstrating, added another source.

A second incident took place in Lhasa on 27th March when two monks, also described as young, staged a brief demonstration in the Barkor, the pilgrimage circuit that surrounds the main temple in Lhasa. The monks were carrying a Tibetan flag, which is forbidden in Tibet.

They were arrested "immediately" by the security forces, according to an unofficial source in Lhasa. A human rights delegation from Sweden is believed to have been in Lhasa for four days in March, but the visit was low-profile and is unlikely to have been known to the protestors.

Reported Unrest in Kyimshi, Chideshol

A more serious protest is reported from Kyimshi, a group of villages 45 km south of Lhasa where there was major unrest in May and June 1993. Unrest re-emerged there in late February this year, according to unconfirmed reports from Lhasa, which said that a demonstration took place in or near the village, during which eight nuns were arrested by police.

No other details are so far available, but it is likely that the nuns came from Choebup nunnery in Drongsur village in the Chideshol, the same valley as Kyimshi. Two women from Choebup nunnery were detained after the May-June 1993 protests.

Kyimshi is a *xiang* or group of villages in Gongkar county, Lhokha Prefecture, situated in the Upper Chideshol valley. Beside the village is the monastery of Sungrabling, from which 7 monks were arrested after the unrest last summer which led to the deployment of several troops in the village. 18 monks from the nearby monastery of Dunbu Choeok and 7 villagers were also arrested for involvement in the 1993 protests.

11 of the 42 pro-independence protests reported in Tibet in 1993 took place outside Lhasa, and some Tibetan activists in Lhasa claim that unrest is growing in the countryside. "The rural population are showing themselves to be every bit more alert and lucid, unlike in the past few years, and they no longer swallow so easily any of the soft and gentle politics played on them by the state. They simply brush them off, saying, 'we know'," one Tibetan activist in Lhasa told TIN in January this year.

10% of all Charges are for Political Offences

Just under 10% of the people charged with criminal offences in the Tibet Autonomous Region in the five

years from 1988 to 1992 were accused of counter-revolutionary offences. 247 (9.2%) of the 2,688 people "arrested" in that period - the word "arrest" in Chinese terminology refers only to those who were formally charged with an offence - were charged with counter-revolution, according to Yang Youcai, the Chief Procurator of the Tibet Autonomous Region. An unknown number of others, probably around 2-3,000, are believed by western sources to have been detained for political offences, but were not charged.

Yang announced the figures in a report presented to the TAR Branch of the National People's Congress in January 1993, according to an internal document obtained by TIN [TIN Ref: 25(YK)]. Yang identified the principal work of the Procuracy, whose main task is to decide which of the people detained by the security forces should be sent for trial, as being to combat the pro-independence movement:

"Our main objectives and aims are to enable the party to implement its policies successfully. Our priority is to crack down and prevent the splittist movements carried out by the minority and to carry out an intensive crack-down on crime," wrote Mr Yang.

In addition, the prosecution agency had also focussed on corruption cases in the five year period. "We also gave special care to investigating corruption - giving and taking of 'materials' [literally, bribes] for personal convenience [lkog za dang lkog rngan sprod len] by using the authority of the state," wrote Yang.

In the five year period the two security services - the Public Security Bureau and the State Security Bureau - asked the Procurator to consider the cases of 2,813 people. The Procuracy investigated these cases and then gave permission for 2,688 of them, including the 247 counter-revolutionary offenders, to be formally "arrested" - that is, to be charged with an offence. 1,759 of these people were tried, and a further 122 were sentenced without a trial - that is, they were sentenced by a committee to up to 3 years administrative detention. Yang, as a procurator, does not give the figures for the number of these 1,759 people who were convicted, but the conviction rate in China is over 98% and in Tibet is probably higher.

Yang also reveals that a special investigation team, combining the Procuracy and the security agencies, was established at the request of the Party to deal with demonstrators after 1987. "In accordance with the Party and the Politico-legal [srid khriims] Committee, we co-operated with the Public Security and State Security offices and set up a special investigation team for those who were involved in Lhasa riots," says Yang. Such a combination of investigative and prosecuting bodies is probably a contravention of international standards of justice, which require a separation between the two agencies.

The Procuracy, or the team of which it was a part, appears to have asked the security organs to carry out further "spying" operations (*myul zhib*) on 43 people involved in the demonstrations. The term, which occurs frequently in the report, gives a rather clear indication of the extent to which the Chinese security apparatus relies on long-term surveillance of suspects. Of the 864

cases involving bribery, for example, successful spy operations were set up in a third of the cases.

The Procuracy refused permission for charges to be pressed against 125 people involved in the demonstrations, suggesting that they were probably released within a year of arrest. 22 people "did not receive trials" and 41 were "recommended for retrials". In 9 cases the Procuracy used special powers granted to it in 1983 to call for immediate trial ("rapid adjudication").

Yang is uncharacteristically vague about how many cases were dealt with by this team, and does not say how many were sent for trial or sentenced without trial. The Chinese press announced that 400 people were arrested for involvement in demonstrations in one night in March 1989, and probably around 2-3,000 were detained at one time or another in 1988 and 1989, but it seems that these cases do not appear in the Procuratorial figures.

The high number of people detained by the police without charge, probably held for several months or even years without appearing in the procurator's statistics, is reflected in the very high figures given in the report for illegal detentions in Tibet. The Procuracy discovered the cases of 1,033 people - an average of nearly one case each day over the five years - who were held in custody beyond the legal time limit. The Procuracy, which investigates complaints against the police and other officials, found that 436 people had been "held for too long in prison and in the investigation section of the *dasrunghang* (surveillance centre)". A further 597 people, according to the report, were held for two long "in detention [*lkag nyar*]".

The distinction between these two categories of detention is not clear. A *dasrunghang* describes Seitru prison, the TAR-level detention centre where people are held while their cases are investigated. But the term, a translation of the Chinese phrase *kanshousuo*, is also used for the little known holding facilities within police stations, and it may be in these police lock-ups that many of these illegal detentions have taken place.

Yang does not give explicit information about what steps were taken to remedy such cases, nor whether steps were taken to punish police and officials involved in the abuses. Neither is there any mention of investigations into complaints of torture, which must have run into hundreds during this period. He does however say that 141 people were investigated for "disciplinary offences", which might have included amongst many other administrative offences the use of torture. But in the five years covered by the report only 35 of these 141 people were sent for trial, while 37 were given administrative punishments by the Procuracy.

The court report for the same five year period notes that 19 cases were tried under administrative law for complaints against officials in the security services, four times as many as for any other department of the administration.

The court report, also presented at the same January 1993 session of the TAR Branch of the National

People's Congress, gave no indications about the number of acquittals, if any, in the previous five years, and does not refer to counter-revolutionary cases. 2,015 criminal cases were heard in the TAR courts in the five year period 1988-92, 42% of them cases of theft or robbery (involving 1,157 people) and 6% of them economic crimes (156 people). A total of 2,442 people were sentenced for criminal offences, of whom 1,265 (51.8%) received sentences of 5 years and over, or of execution.

Summary of the Figures given in the 1988-1992

Procurator's Report:

In the five year period from 1988-1992:

[Paragraph 2: Prosecutions and Administrative Sentences]

The number of people whom the security organs asked permission to arrest [charge]: 2,813

The number of people we gave permission for them to arrest [charge] after we had investigated these cases: 2,441

In addition, the number of people we gave permission for them to arrest for [ie., to charge with] counter-revolution offences: 247

The number of people the public and state security organs wanted us to prosecute [zhu tugui]: 2,028

The number of [these] people the Procuracy [agreed to] prosecute: 1,759

The number who were sentenced without trial [administrative detention]: 122

[Paragraph 3. Special Riot Investigation Team].

"In accordance with the Party and the Politico-legal [srid khirms] Committee, we co-operated with the Public Security and State Security offices and set up a special investigation team for those who were involved in the Lhasa riots."

The number of people where we asked for further spying to be done ['secret investigation' - myul zhib]: 43

The number of people in whose cases we refused permission for charges to be pressed: 125

The number of people who did not receive trials: 22

The number of people who we recommended for re-trials: 41

The number of people whose sentences were changed: 26

The number of people in whose cases we demanded immediate [bda'a 'ded] trial [rapid adjudication]: 9

[Paragraph 4: Excessive Detentions]

Cases of detainees and prisoners which we corrected after [finding that] they were held too long in custody.

The number held for too long in prison and in the investigation section of the Dasrunghang [lta

srung khang - surveillance/ supervision centre]: 436

The number held for too long in detention [bkag nyar]: 597

Cases which we corrected after discovering that people had not been sent for Labour Reform [prison] even though they should have been: 74

People who were going through "Labour Education and [or] Labour Reform" ["ngal rtsoi slob gso dang ngal rtsoi bsgyur bkod"] and then committed a second crime: 32

[Paragraph 5: Corruption].

Giving and accepting bribes: 864 cases

Cases which we linked with corruption: 393 cases involving 337 people

Cases in which charges were brought after [further] spying ['secret investigations']: 306 cases involving 337 people

The number of these cases which involved over 10,000 yuan: 128 cases

Of these, 35 cases were at county or prefecture level and 35 cases related to fraud and corruption

Cases brought to court by the Procuracy: 163 cases involving 179 people

Cases handled by the Procuracy without court trial: 69 cases involving 76 people.

Other cases where we handed out sentences directly [thag gcod]: 74 cases involving 81 people.

[Paragraph 6: Disciplinary cases]

Number of disciplinary cases [sgrig khirms gyd gzhil]: 127 cases involving 141 people

The number of these which were sent for further investigation: 65 cases involving 72 people

The number sent for trial: 33 cases involving 35 people

The number charged directly by the Procuracy without a court trial: 32 cases involving 37 people

Two cases involved people from "ting" [regional] and "qu" [prefecture?] level departments.

[Paragraph 7: Complaints]. Our Special Department for Appeals and Complaints [zhug tug zhu 'bul]

Cases of charges brought by individuals against others : 545

Cases handled through correspondence: 1388 cases

Cases re-investigated: 43 cases

Cases cleared [bdag sbrod]: 1,210 cases

[Work Teams [for carrying out political education]]. "In 1992 our bureau set up 89 work teams [las don ru khag] composed of 303 people, including both policemen and officials, who participated in the Socialist Education

Movement in the farming and pastoral areas. This project is a core effort to realise the party's work [las dan]."

MILITARY

Troops Move into Tibet

TIN News Update/24 April, 1994 [ver4]

Thousands of Chinese troops have been moved into Central Tibet in the last three weeks, according to a wide range of reports from the region. The troop movements, the largest reported from the area since martial law was lifted from the Tibetan capital in 1990, appear to be concentrated around the Tibetan border with India, but reasons for the military activity are unclear.

The Tibetan Government in exile gave the numbers involved as 30,000, saying that three divisions of the People's Liberation Army had moved from inland China into Tibet. One division had moved from Lanzhou and two from Chengdu, said the exiles yesterday from their base in Northern India, indicating a joint exercise between China's North-west and South-west military commands. This would increase by 60% the normal troop garrison in the Tibet Autonomous Region, estimated in 1990 at around 50,000.

Sources in various western governments, speaking on condition of anonymity, confirmed that there were large scale troop movements going on in Tibet but said that they did not know why these were taking place.

The troop movements began in the last week of March, matching reports from tourists in Yunnan that a large contingent of troops accompanied by helicopters had been seen around 1st April moving towards southern Tibet from Dali in Northern Yunnan.

Tibetans and tourists arriving in India and Nepal have reported large troop convoys on roads heading into Tibet, including two 50 truck convoys leaving the new Tibet Military Headquarters at Dongkar Bridge, Toelung, on the western outskirts of Lhasa in the period 7th-10th April. One Westerner described seeing a 30 truck convoy returning empty from Tingri, near the Tibet-Nepal border, on 4th April.

Two fully loaded troop-planes landed at Lhasa's Gongkar airport on 29th March, and scheduled flights from Chengdu to Lhasa are said to be fully booked for a week ahead, suggesting that some troops will be flown in to Tibet on civilian aircraft.

There has been no visible troop activity in Lhasa, and the troop movement appears to be focussed on the sensitive border areas of Drayul and Dromo, which face India's north east frontier in Arunachal Pradesh, according to the exile Government. However, some reports described troop movements within Tibet, unrelated to the borders, and one unconfirmed refugee report said that in Amdo, the north-eastern Tibetan area now part of Qinghai Province, troops had started carrying out night time street patrols.

In Lhasa officials are said to have been compiling lists of military reservists and of people under the age of 40

who have done military service, according to an unconfirmed local report.

Military 'Take Over Checkpoints'

Procedures at road checkpoints have been tightened up, and one Tibetan arriving in India said that from 5th April police checkpoints on the road from Lhasa to the border have been taken over by the military.

At one checkpoint, on Chushul Bridge, 50 km. south of Lhasa, soldiers were said to have stopped vehicles and taken photographs of Tibetan passengers before allowing them to travel onwards, according to one report.

There are no reports of border tensions with India, despite Chinese complaints to India earlier this month about a recent pro-Tibet conference held in New Delhi. Last week the Chinese said that they were about to announce formal acceptance of the Indian annexation in 1974 of Sikkim, whose border China disputes, a statement apparently designed to allay reports of tensions. There have been no border conflicts between China and India since 1987, and for the last two years the two sides have been engaged in border talks and have scaled down military activity.

Increased security controls are expected in China in the run-up to the fifth anniversary of the Tiananmen killings on June 4th, and to President Clinton's decision on renewing China's trading privileges with the US, due before June 3rd. However, these events, which have already led to a series of arrests in China, would not require military action in Tibet.

There are no reports of internal unrest in Tibet, apart from three small pro-independence demonstrations in March. In Beijing a spokesman for the Chinese Foreign Ministry said on Thursday that the situation in Tibet was "stable".

The troop movements come at a time when human rights issues have become a dominant element in western relations with China, and the mobilisation may be designed to encourage international governments, as well as India, to focus on China's strategic muscle and significance rather than its internal politics.

Other analysts speculated that the troop movements could be a regional rehearsal for security operations after the death of the Chinese patriarch, Deng Xiaoping, who will be 90 this year.

Large-scale troop deployments would also be expected if the Chinese were about to announce that they will allow the exiled Tibetan leader the Dalai Lama, currently on tour in the US, to visit Tibet, a request he made formally in October 1991.

Chinese Media on Military News

A summary of Chinese media coverage of military news in Tibet, monitored by the BBC's Summary of World Broadcasts. Dates in headings are those when the event took place or was first reported; the date following the news item is that of the SWB in which it was published.

18 Dec: The last batch for 1993 of military recruits landed at Gonggar airport near Lhasa, Xinhua reported. Since 1990 tens of thousands of troops have been flown in and out of Tibet and Xinjiang in over 400 airlifts. Previously they travelled by truck. Airlifting is expected to grow as China's aviation industry develops, Xinhua commented. (SWB 21 Dec.)

17 Feb: China's top military leaders issued a circular ordering units to take in more minority soldiers, according to the *Liberation Army Daily*. In minority areas, top officers at regiment level or higher should include a minority official. At all levels, there should be some. They should have special literacy classes, and training courses for Tibetan youngsters should be tried out at appropriate schools. More minority officials should be recruited from higher education or vocational secondary education. (SWB 25 Feb)

6 Feb: A delegation from the headquarters of the People's Armed Police visited Qinghai to greet men stationed there for the New Year. (25 Feb)

Qinghai: Party Secretary Encourages Chinese Migration

TIN News Update/6 October, 1993 (part)

During his mid-July "inspection tour" of Qinghai province, Party Secretary **Jiang Zemin** "went deep into villages and pastoral areas" including Chabcha, according to Xinhua, the official Chinese news agency on 21st July, monitored by the BBC.

Jiang told provincial officials to speed up the exploitation of natural resources in Qinghai and to "praise individuals who had left their homes in coastal and other regions to contribute to Qinghai's economic and social development", according to Xinhua.

Jiang's praise indicates official approval of Chinese migration into the province, which had some 200,000 Chinese settlers before the Communist take-over in 1949, but by 1984 had 2.5 million. Over the same period the Tibetan population increased from 438,533 to 784,458, according to Chinese figures.

The Dalai Lama has repeatedly accused the Chinese of encouraging Chinese population transfer in order to marginalise Tibetan culture. "The Chinese are bringing in Chinese settlers to Tibet and they are doing all this because the Chinese are totally ignorant of Tibetan culture," he told a press conference in Calcutta on Sunday, according to Reuters.

Pomda Airport Expansion: Gateway to Eastern Tibet

TIN News Update/24 November, 1993 (part)

Pomda, in the county of Pakshoe, 120 km south of Chamdo, has been earmarked for high-speed modernisation since China's General Secretary **Jiang**

Zemin announced during his 1990 visit to Tibet that the military airport at Pomda would be refurbished to accommodate civilian and commercial traffic.

Work began at the airfield on 15th May this year and should be completed by September 1994, at a projected cost of 210 million yuan (US \$ 38m), according to Xinhua, the official Chinese news agency.

By mid-August this year work on extending the runway, 5,500 metres long and said by the Chinese to be the longest in the world, had been completed. The development is likely to attract a large number of non-Tibetan traders and settlers into Eastern Tibet, a factor which is likely to have exacerbated political tension in the otherwise largely inaccessible area.

"Attracting a large number of migrants or settlers is probably part of the design - they want to bring people in," one foreign expert on the area commented on the airport expansion. "We heard that there had been a number of incidents in Kham in the previous months, largely unrelated and often based on economic grievances. But they may be worried that things are going to change," he added, on condition of anonymity, in relation to the arrest in July of a Chamdo monk who had put "reactionary" posters on the wall of an official building in the town. The population of Chamdo has doubled since 1950, according to official Chinese figures.

Chinese Media on Population

Chinese media reports on population, selected from the BBC Summary of World Broadcasts (SWB).

10 Dec. 1993: **Chen Kuiyuan**, denied that large numbers of ethnic Chinese were moving into Tibet, noted that 95% of the 2.3m population were Tibetan, as were 75% of the officials (SWB 5 Jan).

17 March: Losang Toinzhub [**Lobsang Dondrup**], vice-chairman of TAR government and mayor of Lhasa, said at an NPC press conference in Beijing of the claim of Han immigration, "that's a sheer nonsense". Among the 400,000 inhabitants of Lhasa,¹ Tibetans account for 87.21% and Han 11.9%. Among the Han people, some came to help with construction and some to do business.

Toinzhub called economic exchanges "inevitable". People from inland China go to Tibet and Tibetans can go to the interior to do business there. "Why cannot people do so?", he asked. "The flow of people is not necessarily a bad thing and the most important thing is whether it is conducive to the development of Tibet. When Americans were opening up the West, weren't there many immigrants there?"

Gyaincain Norbu [**Gyaltsen Norbu**] declared that Tibetans accounted for more than 96% of the TAR population of 2.28 m, and Han and others less than 4%. (SWB 19 March)

¹ The figure refers to the Lhasa municipal area, which is largely rural and is equivalent in size to a prefecture. The urban area of Lhasa had an official population in 1990 of 160,000 - TIN.

Official 1989 Figures for Nationalities Resident in Qinghai

Qinghai Province Percentages of Ethnic Groups by Prefecture & County - 1989

| County | Han | Tibetan | Hui | Tu | Salar | Mongol | Other |
|--|-------|---------|-------|------|-------|--------|-------|
| Total % | 59.52 | 20.04 | 13.87 | 3.36 | 1.62 | 1.52 | 0.21 |
| Xining Municipality | | | | | | | |
| Xining City | 87.1 | 0.8 | 10.3 | 0.3 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.7 |
| Datong County | 59.5 | 5.6 | 26.2 | 7.9 | 0.0 | 0.8 | 0.1 |
| Total | 76.9 | 2.6 | 16.5 | 3.1 | 0.1 | 0.4 | 0.5 |
| Haidong Prefecture | | | | | | | |
| Ping'an | 76.7 | 4.7 | 18.0 | 0.4 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 |
| Huzhu Tu Auton. County | 76.9 | 5.7 | 1.6 | 15.9 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Ledu | 88.8 | 5.6 | 1.3 | 2.4 | 0.0 | 1.8 | 0.1 |
| Minhe | 47.5 | 3.2 | 38.2 | 10.9 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.1 |
| Hualong Hui Auton. County | 23.5 | 21.3 | 50.6 | 0.2 | 4.3 | 0.0 | 0.1 |
| Xunhua Salar Auton. County | 7.2 | 24.4 | 8.9 | 0.1 | 59.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Huangzhong | 78.3 | 7.5 | 14.1 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Huangyuan | 88.9 | 8.4 | 1.6 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.8 | 0.0 |
| Total | 65.6 | 8.4 | 17.0 | 5.2 | 3.5 | 0.3 | 0.1 |
| Haibei Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture | | | | | | | |
| Menyuan Hui Auton. County | 50.0 | 8.2 | 36.8 | 3.4 | 0.1 | 1.4 | 0.1 |
| Haïyan | 73.8 | 13.0 | 1.1 | 0.5 | 0.0 | 10.7 | 0.8 |
| Gangca | 43.1 | 50.8 | 3.0 | 0.8 | 0.1 | 2.1 | 0.2 |
| Qilian | 29.0 | 26.4 | 30.7 | 1.8 | 1.7 | 10.1 | 0.3 |
| Total | 49.0 | 18.5 | 25.4 | 2.3 | 0.3 | 4.2 | 0.3 |
| Huangman Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture | | | | | | | |
| Tongren | 14.0 | 68.8 | 7.5 | 8.0 | 1.3 | 0.1 | 0.3 |
| Jianca | 11.2 | 66.9 | 21.4 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.0 |
| Zekog | 3.7 | 95.3 | 0.5 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.0 |
| Henan Mongol Auton. County | 5.5 | 2.5 | 1.0 | 0.9 | 0.1 | 90.0 | 0.1 |
| Total | 9.6 | 65.3 | 8.1 | 3.2 | 0.6 | 13.0 | 0.2 |
| Hainan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture | | | | | | | |
| Gonghe | 56.0 | 37.0 | 4.5 | 0.8 | 0.2 | 1.4 | 0.2 |
| Guide | 55.1 | 32.6 | 11.0 | 1.1 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.1 |
| Guinan | 28.4 | 66.2 | 4.0 | 1.0 | 0.1 | 0.3 | 0.0 |
| Tongde | 14.1 | 84.9 | 0.6 | 0.3 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.0 |
| Xinghai | 18.8 | 72.5 | 7.5 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.4 | 0.1 |
| Total | 42.0 | 50.5 | 5.8 | 0.8 | 0.2 | 0.6 | 0.1 |
| Golog Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture | | | | | | | |
| Magen | 19.6 | 78.5 | 1.2 | 0.4 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.0 |
| Gade | 3.3 | 96.1 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.1 |
| Jigzhi | 5.7 | 93.7 | 0.4 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.1 |
| Baima | 9.4 | 89.1 | 0.7 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.2 |
| Darlag | 5.4 | 93.9 | 0.4 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Madoi | 18.0 | 80.8 | 0.8 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.0 |
| Total | 10.3 | 88.6 | 0.6 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 |
| Yushu Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture | | | | | | | |
| Yushu | 7.4 | 92.0 | 0.4 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Chindu | 2.4 | 97.4 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Nangqen | 1.8 | 98.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Zadui | 1.9 | 98.0 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Zhidui | 3.0 | 96.9 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Qumarleb | 3.0 | 96.8 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Total | 3.7 | 96.0 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Haixi Mongol-Tibetan-Kazakh Autonomous Prefecture | | | | | | | |
| Golmud Municipality | 90.1 | 3.9 | 2.4 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 2.7 | 0.5 |
| Ulan | 70.6 | 3.1 | 6.0 | 2.0 | 1.9 | 16.0 | 0.5 |
| Tianjun | 17.9 | 79.6 | 1.4 | 0.9 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.0 |
| Dulan | 63.0 | 17.6 | 5.2 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 12.8 | 0.4 |
| Delingha | 81.8 | 2.3 | 2.2 | 0.9 | 0.1 | 12.3 | 0.4 |
| Daqaidam | 94.1 | 0.7 | 3.3 | 0.3 | 0.1 | 0.5 | 1.0 |
| Lenghu | | | | | | | |
| Mangnai | 96.2 | 0.5 | 1.6 | 0.3 | 0.1 | 0.8 | 0.5 |
| Total | 78.9 | 9.4 | 3.2 | 0.6 | 0.4 | 7.0 | 0.5 |

Qinghai Province PRC Ethnic Groups by Prefecture & County: Absolute Figures

| County | Han | Tibetan | Hui | Tu | Salar | Mongol | Other | Total 1989 | Total 1982 | annual av % |
|--|------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|------------------|------------------|--------------|
| Total | 2,503,388 | 844,210 | 584,961 | 141,770 | 68,509 | 64,285 | 8,770 | 4,215,890 | 3,895,696 | 1.097 |
| Xining Municipality | | | | | | | | | | |
| Xining City | 550316 | 5076 | 68026 | 1659 | 874 | 1434 | 4513 | 631898 | 589967 | 0.388 |
| Datong County | 220541 | 20693 | 97030 | 29153 | 140 | 2881 | 406 | 370844 | 336327 | 1.283 |
| Total | 770857 | 25769 | 165056 | 30812 | 1014 | 4315 | 4919 | 1002742 | 926294 | 1.032 |
| Haidong Prefecture | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ping'an | 74985 | 4574 | 17612 | 354 | 78 | 60 | 106 | 97769 | 85630 | 1.772 |
| Huzhu Tu | | | | | | | | | | |
| Auton. County | 254481 | 18720 | 5272 | 52491 | 0 | 78 | 63 | 331105 | 305779 | 1.035 |
| Ledu | 243961 | 15388 | 3681 | 6603 | 15 | 5029 | 192 | 274869 | 259672 | 0.732 |
| Minhe | 150228 | 10182 | 120748 | 34365 | 43 | 51 | 432 | 316049 | 287389 | 1.247 |
| Hualong Hui | | | | | | | | | | |
| Auton. County | 45408 | 41248 | 97911 | 408 | 8301 | 18 | 102 | 193396 | 175746 | 1.255 |
| Xunhua Salar | | | | | | | | | | |
| Auton. County | 6725 | 22840 | 8321 | 61 | 55469 | 8 | 43 | 93467 | 83613 | 1.473 |
| Huangzhong | 323999 | 31007 | 58172 | 608 | 13 | 181 | 34 | 414014 | 393885 | 0.639 |
| Huangyuan | 111474 | 10535 | 2016 | 212 | 34 | 1017 | 54 | 125342 | 119369 | 0.625 |
| Total | 1211261 | 154494 | 313733 | 95102 | 63953 | 6442 | 1026 | 1846011 | 1711083 | 0.986 |
| Haibei Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture | | | | | | | | | | |
| Menyuan Hui | | | | | | | | | | |
| Auton. County | 66808 | 10999 | 49134 | 4516 | 109 | 1901 | 200 | 133667 | 124761 | 0.892 |
| Haiyan | 25643 | 4528 | 393 | 179 | 2 | 3735 | 266 | 34746 | 17535 | 12.269 |
| Gangca | 16855 | 19863 | 1161 | 315 | 27 | 841 | 65 | 39127 | 40990 | -0.568 |
| Qilian | 11132 | 10123 | 11800 | 688 | 665 | 3866 | 117 | 38391 | 36405 | 0.682 |
| Total | 120438 | 45513 | 62488 | 5698 | 803 | 10343 | 648 | 245931 | 219691 | 1.493 |
| Huangnan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture | | | | | | | | | | |
| Tongren | 8787 | 43067 | 4680 | 4995 | 800 | 46 | 205 | 62580 | 57219 | 1.171 |
| Jainca | 4338 | 25884 | 8271 | 95 | 79 | 20 | 16 | 38703 | 35234 | 1.231 |
| Zekog | 1475 | 38446 | 211 | 77 | 70 | 51 | 12 | 40342 | 34330 | 2.189 |
| Henan Mongol | | | | | | | | | | |
| Auton. County | 1296 | 600 | 242 | 204 | 20 | 21292 | 15 | 23669 | 20581 | 1.876 |
| Total | 15896 | 107997 | 13404 | 5371 | 969 | 21409 | 248 | 165294 | 147364 | 1.521 |
| Hainan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture | | | | | | | | | | |
| Gonghe | 72717 | 48081 | 5818 | 989 | 221 | 1764 | 282 | 129872 | 119136 | 1.126 |
| Guide | 44406 | 26244 | 8830 | 861 | 171 | 7 | 80 | 80599 | 76036 | 0.750 |
| Guinan | 15701 | 36547 | 2211 | 526 | 60 | 148 | 22 | 55215 | 54241 | 0.224 |
| Tongde | 5512 | 33229 | 222 | 106 | 27 | 50 | 0 | 39146 | 34787 | 1.566 |
| Xinghai | 8441 | 32521 | 3366 | 154 | 147 | 200 | 43 | 44872 | 40800 | 1.248 |
| Total | 146777 | 176622 | 20447 | 2636 | 626 | 2169 | 427 | 349704 | 325000 | 0.950 |
| Golog Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture | | | | | | | | | | |
| Maqen | 5223 | 20906 | 326 | 115 | 16 | 25 | 9 | 26620 | 24750 | 0.944 |
| Gade | 678 | 19582 | 29 | 33 | 32 | 6 | 17 | 20377 | 19367 | 0.652 |
| Jigzhi | 860 | 14246 | 64 | 16 | 0 | 3 | 15 | 15204 | 14435 | 0.666 |
| Baima | 1694 | 15991 | 133 | 43 | 33 | 23 | 38 | 17955 | 16757 | 0.894 |
| Darlag | 1100 | 18981 | 73 | 38 | 18 | 6 | 1 | 20217 | 19445 | 0.496 |
| Madoi | 1722 | 7743 | 77 | 14 | 14 | 6 | 4 | 9580 | 8954 | 0.874 |
| Total | 11277 | 97449 | 702 | 259 | 113 | 69 | 84 | 109953 | 103708 | 0.753 |
| Yushu Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yushu | 4600 | 56952 | 219 | 81 | 17 | 21 | 8 | 61898 | 54463 | 1.706 |
| Chindu | 894 | 35881 | 24 | 22 | 3 | 4 | 7 | 36835 | 32130 | 1.830 |
| Nangqen | 972 | 53261 | 24 | 6 | 0 | 4 | 14 | 54281 | 47264 | 1.356 |
| Zadoi | 583 | 29907 | 14 | 17 | 4 | 0 | 6 | 30531 | 26432 | 1.938 |
| Zhiduo | 540 | 17650 | 14 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 18216 | 16275 | 1.491 |
| Qumaleb | 520 | 16665 | 14 | 10 | 5 | 4 | 1 | 17219 | 16346 | 0.668 |
| Total | 8109 | 210316 | 309 | 140 | 32 | 37 | 37 | 218980 | 192910 | 1.689 |
| Haixi Mongol-Tibetan-Kazakh Autonomous Prefecture | | | | | | | | | | |
| Golmud | | | | | | | | | | |
| Municipality | 57834 | 2498 | 1545 | 134 | 54 | 1745 | 369 | 64179 | 57202 | 1.525 |
| Ulan | 22264 | 985 | 1881 | 627 | 589 | 5044 | 166 | 31556 | 76083 | -7.316 |
| Tianjun | 2712 | 12052 | 206 | 134 | 6 | 15 | 7 | 15132 | 13926 | 1.083 |
| Dulan | 32564 | 9105 | 2707 | 241 | 254 | 6617 | 201 | 51689 | 60985 | -1.905 |
| Delingha | 37166 | 1045 | 1016 | 388 | 41 | 5597 | 167 | 45420 | | |
| Daqaidan | 19324 | 147 | 690 | 73 | 21 | 101 | 220 | 21176 | 21793 | -0.354 |
| Lenghu | | | | | | | | | 17156 | |
| Mangnai | 46309 | 218 | 777 | 155 | 34 | 379 | 251 | 48123 | 22501 | 14.234 |
| Total | 218773 | 26050 | 8822 | 1752 | 999 | 19498 | 1381 | 277275 | 269646 | 0.354 |

Western Travellers on Urban Settlement

A selection of comments by western travellers in Tibet.

"September 93: the restaurant near to the Yak hotel was started by a couple from Chengdu in 1991. They talked about special tax concessions which had encouraged them, and said that in Tibet they were away from the *danhu* (work unit) and they had no leader breathing down their necks.

"A Nepali pointed out that the Chinese in Lhasa were now doing business in traditional Tibetan furniture and clothing: they are not only developing a parallel economy, he said, but taking over parts of the traditional Tibetan economy as well.

"I met two Tibetan women who were going to Chengdu to do a course in computing. One of them said that in her department there were three Tibetans and seven Chinese. The other one worked for the government and said the ratio was 2 Chinese to 1 Tibetan, but I don't know if she meant the whole government or just her department.

"Today, 17th September, there were lots of military in town. I talked to four Chinese who were selling snacks on the street. They were Hui from Linxia in Gansu, and they said their residence permits (*houkous*) were still registered to Linxia. Business was good now, they said, better than before the reform and opening up [1992]. Many of the Hui traders in Lhasa are from Linxia.

"On the south side of Dekyi Shar Lam by the Banakshol Hotel there were two Muslim shops. The owners were Uighurs who had come from Xinjiang. Beside the entrance to the TAR Government compound there are shops, including one which serves hot pot. Almost everyone we spoke to had come in 1992 or 1993. Everyone said that they had not been sent by the government and could come and go as they pleased. There are government incentives relating to tax, and less unemployment, they said, and there was lots of money to be made here. One couple said they would go back once they had made their fortune.

"I think it's true there are more Chinese than Tibetans in Lhasa. Even the Chinese say that. The only people who didn't say this were two revolting officials I met - one Tibetan, one Chinese - in the Tibetan culture department. I met them at an official gathering - a lot of Chinese soldiers were playing mahjong in a tent in the grounds of the Norbulingka, being served by young Tibetan girls aged about 18. There was one Chinese woman, the wife of a soldier, and a couple of older Tibetan men. I saw them doing ballroom dancing first, but everyone had to drink a lot and in the end it became a drunken brawl. The Chinese official had come from Sichuan in 1992 and the Tibetan, who was in his 40s, had been in Beijing for four years. They pointed out a Chinese and a Tibetan who were dancing together, to emphasise the integration of the two communities. The Tibetan official seemed very insecure. One of the Chinese there came from Henan 11 years ago, and he said that he likes living in Tibet; he is in the dairy business now. One of the soldiers said he came from rural Sichuan. He had been in Tibet for 10 years, with three more left to serve. The soldiers were nice, but the officials were really worried, because they feared that I

might not believe them, when they claimed that only 10% of the population in Lhasa were Chinese."

"The government doesn't encourage Han-Chinese people with better salaries or other bonuses anymore. Any privileges are paid in kind, like a better house on returning home after 5 years, better schools for the children, a better job on returning. For most of the Han-Chinese Tibet is still a horrible place to live and most of them return to their home-town after 3-5 years. New immigrants arrive in small groups (3-7 people) who are told that there is enough work in Lhasa by relatives/people of the same work unit/friends who are already working in TAR."

"One local I talked to thought there are about 30,000 temporary, seasonal settlers in TAR, mainly Han Chinese. They and the army are not included in any official census."

"There seem, though, to be more Tibetan than Chinese citizens in Lhasa. Even in some Chinese looking quarters of Lhasa most of the people on the streets are Tibetans and about half of the doors have Tibetan door hangers. But the ethnic composition of Lhasa's traditionally Tibetan areas has changed, so that they now house more Chinese than before, often shop- or restaurant-owners or Muslim petty traders.

"In the Tromzikang, for example, there seem to be no restrictions on the settlement of Chinese. It seems they can get permits and to rent rooms for shops and restaurants more easily than the Tibetans.

Westerners on Rural Settlement

"In the immediate vicinity of Lhasa (say between Toelung Dechen xian and Tagtse xian) it seems that the lands worked by prisoners through the 1960's and 70's and separated into reform-through-labour camps (Chinese: *laogai*) are in several cases those supposedly earmarked to receive Han agricultural settlers.

"At sites such as the Emagang plain there is purpose built barrack-style accommodation already in place, no strong village or family ties to the land since 30 years, and in at least some cases land under cultivation that was reclaimed from river sand or brought into irrigation by dint of prison labour for the first time during the 1960s.

"Also near Lhasa is Khamak Lingkha - a *laogai* during the 1960s, where prisoners reclaimed land from the Kyichu sands and where wheat is now grown. There has been a PLA artillery base here for years. There are no village houses, only Chinese-style compounds occupied by Tibetans who seem to be members of the same work unit. The family farm system was never re-introduced here, and now it's farmed by a work unit as a commercial proposition. They must pay 680 yuan per head per year per 7 [?] *mu* of land. A *mu* [one fifteenth of a hectare] will yield around 500 *gyama* [equivalent to a *jin* in Chinese, half a kilogramme] of grain annually (a high figure and result of chemical fertiliser) and they must sell at least some of it at the state price of 3-4 *mao* [equivalent to a *jiao*, or tenth of a yuan] per *gyama*."

"The only Chinese settlements or Chinese farmers I saw were some vegetable farmers close to the towns. Apart from construction sites, mines, military camps, etc. I only saw Chinese in the towns. In each county headquarters (Tibetan: *dzong*, Chinese: *xian*) there are obviously Chinese but usually not more than a few hundred. They are administrators, policemen, shopkeepers, army personnel, traders, technicians, vegetable farmers, teachers, housewives, and children - not necessarily in that order! In all dzongs I visited there were rows of new Chinese shops.

"You often see Chinese Muslim traders who travel back and forth between the countryside and Lhasa (or another major town) buying and selling sheep skins or doing other businesses. They travel by bicycle, bus, or hitch rides with trucks. In Lhasa the Chinese presence is overwhelming, but more because of increasing economical and political power and in their overwhelming material, linguistic and cultural influence than in actual numbers. By far the most restaurants and shops are owned by Chinese."

"Along the road to **Toelung** in **Dampak** area I met landless Tibetans working as wage labourers on Han vegetable plots, and taxes obliging Tibetans to forfeit their land. I wonder if this system will be extended?"

"In **Dampak** (Drepung) and **Donkhar** (halfway to **Toelung Dechen** from **Lhasa**) local Tibetans are working as wage labourers on land recently taken under Han private management and now growing market garden vegetables. They were paid 5-6 yuan per day. One person said that the majority of farmland around **Toelung Dechen xian** was still Tibetan and was taxed at 400 yuan per mu per year while land taken by Chinese in the area was taxed at 50 yuan per mu per month (600 yuan per year)."

Taxes

"You find different stories more or less wherever you go. Generally, you don't hear of taxes above 1-200 per mu per year on farmers outside the immediate Lhasa area although some taxes seem to have been introduced in several valley areas roughly included in the triangle **Chushul** - **Medro Gungkar** - **Tsethang** in the last few years. Move further away and you find self-sufficient non-tax-paying non-chemical fertiliser-using village farmers with no obligations, quite happy with the post-liberalisation measures! Note that one of the major current economic grievances is that quota prices have remained the same while the cost of living has increased dramatically. There is also a rumour that **Shigatse** prefecture has agreed to accept 150,000 agricultural settlers. Heaven knows where they will put them. **Emagang** will take some. Some say that others are to plant garlic at **Gyantse**."

Phenpo

"I think Phenpo is the best place in in central Tibet for Chinese settlers - a lot of flat arable land, with space for mechanisation and where wheat will grow quite easily. Wheat was even grown here before 1950. Some Tibetans told me that when you harvest in Phenpo the fields are so large and the crop so abundant that you can't even see the far end of the field as you work. They've never seen anything like it. The area was treated uniquely by the communist authorities: from the

'60s up until the early '80s the ownership system was *rgyal-gnyer* - direct state ownership. The land was NOT communalised - the Phenpo villagers worked as state employees with literally "nothing to sell but their labour" and no other means of livelihood than a government wage. Only as recently as 1984-5 was the post-communal system (introduced by **Hu Yaobang** and known as '*gan-gtsang*') applied to the Phenpo area.

"At present no Phenpo farmers are paying direct taxes but all of them are subject to a quota system (*srus-tshang*) which obliges them to sell up to a third (accounts I heard varied wildly) of their produce at state prices, and it had to be wheat. Most seemed to be growing their quota of wheat for a cash income and the rest in barley and '*pekar*' (mustard/rape) for their own needs. The state price is commonly given at 12 yuan per *bok* (28 *gyama*) or roughly 3-4 *mao* per *gyama*.

"There was one agricultural *laogai* [labour camp] in the Phenpo valley that I was told about, most likely chosen for its remoteness, and very barren. Not appealing for settlers."

"I heard that in Phenpo the quota that farmers have to sell to the government was increased this year [1993], as the harvest has been so good.

"**East of Lhasa**: East of the bridge on the north bank, and between the bridge and **Beding** village (10 km) on the south bank is an area home to many Han market gardeners - although there's no real evidence of agricultural settlement or change in land use. In the villages of **Beding** and **Tsel Gunghang** I was told of quotas of 12 *kye* (1 *kye* = 28 *gyama*) per person per year and 9 *kye* respectively; 5 in another nearby village and so on. People will usually tell how much they personally give, and I'm not always sure whether the quota is raised per mu or per family member. They reckoned on harvesting about 15-16 *kye* per mu around here. The other large vegetable greenhouses here seem to be for either the military growing vegetables for their camps, or for Tibetan work units on government land (*rgyal nyer* - state ownership). On the north bank, the villagers of **Damar xiang** had voluntarily rented land to Sichuanese settlers - possibly about 10-12 households of them intensively cultivating several mu for the Lhasa market. There are no financial taxes even here, only the quota system. The villagers said that some people just preferred to rent the land and go into business in the city. Most of the land in Damar remains under Tibetan cultivation. The Chinese pay 300 yuan per mu per year directly to the villagers."

"I talked to some monks, who said "The Chinese are starting to dominate in country towns; all leadership is Chinese."

Villages, Towns

Lhundrub: "Lhundrub county is 40 km east of Lhasa. It has very fertile broad valleys and dry barren hills and mountains.

"The valley from the Lhasa valley up to Lhundrub *xian* [the county town] is mostly large fields (about 60% barley, 35% wheat, 5% others). We didn't see any large scale irrigation construction going on and most of the extensive irrigation infrastructure looked rather well

maintained by Tibetan standards. But further on towards the **Chak-la** there are four blue coloured pumping stations. We were told that they were built in the last 3 years to pump up shallow groundwater for irrigation purposes.

"Local people said the new county building in Lhundrup *xian* was finished last year. A geologist we met north of the Chak-la said a middle size power station is planned (with a capacity of about 5 mw) near **Pongdo**. Geologists from **Chengdu** are doing seismic research for the dam construction - they had a 10 day field trip in Lhundrup county doing seismic tests and taking stone samples.

"**Damchung**: Damchung area is about 80 km NW of Lhasa; a wide valley at about 4,200m, surrounded by high mountains bordering **Lamo Tso** in the west and the Retring mountain range in the east.

"The climate makes it very difficult to grow any crop very successfully. 10 km south of Damchung we saw some sad-looking experimental plots - about 15 plots of 100 sq. metres, most of them barren and some with barley in bad condition.

"The life here is mainly pastoral. Near Lamo Tso the nomad families all have at least 4 children (up to 7). Twice a year there's a gathering of nomad leaders for reports on production and family. A nomad said none of the children go to school and most of the nomads are illiterate. Most of the area directly surrounding the lake is badly overgrazed and degraded. Pikas [rodents] are everywhere and there are both sheep and yaks."

Rame: "I visited a monastery called Rame near **Gongkar**, where the abbot was in **Beijing** and the storekeeper (who also seemed to be the cook) was running the place instead. Not at all chatty. One monk is only 11 years old. The road's just a dust track with has a row of little shops/stalls - a third of these people were Chinese.

"There was a loudspeaker fixed on a telegraph pole facing the temple, or even within the monastery walls, blasting pop music and news, very loud, from 8am for 15-20 minutes. There are at least 3 Chinese-owned shops, plus 3 Chinese-run restaurants, (all from **Chengdu** area), in rows. One couple lived in Chengdu, came this year for the money, and want to go back when they've got some. Another couple came in 1992 - she will return to Chengdu this month - he plans to stay a year.

"There's an Army barracks in Rame; a Bank of China being built, quite large, 2-3 storeys, strange for such a tiny village ... There were unskilled labourers carrying bricks around. It was hard to see where they were living. There were some smarter workers, Chinese, in a video parlour.

"A restaurant owner said he had come this year or last; and another restaurant owner said life was good (meaning he made money).

"The Chinese apparently live to the west of the road, Tibetans to the south. Of the 15-20 new shops 6 were Chinese and 9-14 Tibetan.

"Tibetans are in the majority. All the agricultural workers seem to be Tibetan. The school's Tibetan, and the teachers. No Chinese pupils. A Chinese flag is on top of the school. One person said 1,000 people (50%) were Chinese; another said there were less. Another flag flies over the square. There are 3 loudspeakers in the village altogether."

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"Around the village are irrigated fields. From the main stream, peasants either dig or obstruct small channels (I saw them working mainly at sunset). The *gompa* [monastery] has a small field just behind it where the monks grow potatoes. The fields are barley and wheat - maybe 60% barley. North west of the village and before the **Tsangpo** river are two military areas with aerials and high walls, probably to do with airport traffic control. I didn't see much road traffic going in and out.

"The loudspeaker is usually on twice a day, I was told, from 8-9.30am in the winter, 7.30-9am in the summer, and in the evenings from 6-7.30 winter, 6.45-8 summer). Often it's only on once, and sometimes, for a couple of days, not at all.

"It starts with music (mainly Tibetan, also Chinese and some classical Western music - *Concerto d'Albinoni* for example). Then the news, first in Tibetan (but pronounced in this special Chinese-style "official" Tibetan. You can hear the word *mimang* - "people" in every second sentence). Then it continues in Chinese. It ends with more music.

"The sound level changes from day to day, and sometimes it would be very loud (one could not catch a word, because of the bad sound quality). No one appeared to listen and some people complain about it. To me it's one of the worst Chinese daily aggressions, there's no escape from it and you can't turn it off."

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"In June [1993], I saw 3 or 4 Chinese cobblers in Rame waiting for customers, and some working on their sewing machines, at the side of the main road."

Chushul: "A Tibetan says that the Chinese are a majority there. He says relations are bad and that more come every year so that in 3 years they will be a majority in Tibet. Tibetans are naive, he said, and the Chinese are clever and take timber and gold. He spoke of poverty in areas closed to tourists.

"On the bus a 27 yr old girl had a Chinese father and Tibetan mother - common enough in the past but now rare."

Samye: "I hitched from Lhasa to Samye in a minibus full of soldiers. There's a walled military complex with guards at the main entrance and lots of other soldiers around. 2 water towers, and 2 Han or Hui on bicycles in the middle of nowhere.

"One soldier from Chengdu, who had been there since 1986, said "it's a lot of fun". He got off at **Chushul**, at a barracks just outside. The military guard on the bridge over the **Yarlung** didn't stop us.

"In Samye a PSB man demanded 10 yuan for "visas" to be in Samye. In Samye monastery a couple of monks spoke Chinese. One was running the restaurant here

for a year. There are 120 monks; some of them workers, some students. They are reconstructing the *stupas* [reliquaries]. The Chinese have fixed a limit of 120. Some monks are 10 yrs old; there's a *Lama*, two 'great' teachers, a study teacher, 13 'little teachers'. The classes range from 1 to 6 students per teacher. A monk working in the restaurant joined in December 1989 and does 1 year study, 1 year work. There are 13 houses or hostels, each with a teacher. Lots of Cultural Revolution and bullet holes still visible. One monk couldn't believe England was smaller than Tibet.

"We went for a long hike and met monks going to gather herbs. One was wearing a **Gendun Rinchen** badge under his robe. We passed a village near Samye which was flying a Tibetan flag.

"The Hans take away the Tibetans' food" said one Tibetan. In 1988, 30 monks had protested for Tibetan independence, someone told us - the Chinese caught 2, aged 18 and 19 - the 19 year old escaped to India, but the 18 year old is still in jail. Two more arrested in 1991 for protesting are still in prison.

"I was told there are Han Chinese in Samye, watching for protests and keeping the limit on monks to 120; they charge some kind of a tax to keep themselves. Large households pay 100 yuan a year, small households pay 50 yuan a year, and the monastery restaurant pays 200 a year. 13 of the monks are studying in India.

"In 1986 all monks were studying full time but then the Chinese said they should also work - hence the alternating year system for some.

"If you go there you see nothing of suppression. You only hear of it from outside. As a westerner I felt I could have gone where I wanted. I found it quite a traumatic place, not knowing where I was. We hitched with boys who had been on pilgrimage and who were mad keen on digital watches."

Tsethang: taxes and quotas

"In **Tsethang** and the **Yarlung** valley region. The quota system is in place still and no direct taxes have been imposed, or apparently suggested. They are giving 5-10% of their harvest for sale at the state price of 3-4 *mao* per *gyama* (half a kilogramme). As in other areas where a lot of the harvest is wheat, wheat must be supplied for the quota. The farmers have to buy fertiliser at government price also "even though grain grows well without it" (in the words of an elderly peasant). Tsethang is a booming place and popular with settlers - it resembles one of the Han-majority towns of eastern Kham, and is teeming with under-employed restaurateurs, hairdressers, retailers etc. Lots of military and new construction (especially the People's Government building and the new *Xinhua* bookstore - both multi-storied, flashy-looking)."

- **Tsethang**, September 1993: "So I've been wandering around Tsethang - what a dump! what a weird dump! More construction like crazy and an overplus of Sichuan 'entrepreneurs' - grand opening of the new 5-story *Xinhua* bookstore in the town centre, with the giant crane of socialist construction overhead. It has too much military as it's the central access point for **Tsona**

and the **Assam** border. In the Tibetan sector of the town (I never even knew there was one) I found that the **Ganden Choeckorling gomba** [monastery], restored rather beautifully in 1988, is banned as an active institution and only 8 monks allowed as *kon-nyer* - curators - apparently the Tsethang leaders won't tolerate an active *Gelugpa* monastery on their main patch. Anyway, although **Yarlung** is such a rich valley growing wheat before 1950 and high profile and all, I found the same *pu-tsong* system in place: a compulsory quota sale of between 5-10% of total crop to the government at fixed prices, no direct taxes and no Chinese agriculture, but probably an obligation to buy (unnecessary) chemical fertiliser at government price. The differences in sale and purchase for the government by the way must constitute a large income - grain is bought below market price and farmers are forbidden to sell directly on the open market. Fertiliser, machinery and so on are often sold above. It really seems now that all the existing Chinese "settlement" and direct taxes are happening "within sight of the Potala". Other sites and areas have been targeted but this hasn't yet come to pass."

- **Tsethang Road**: "The whole road from Tsetang to 2 km before **Gongkar** Airport (about 91 km) has been turned upside down. Several thousands of workers are now preparing the road for metalling. So the bus trip from Lhasa to Tsetang took a whole day in November 1993.

"The work on the road seems to have started simultaneously in October 1993. The most intensive work is carried out between **Gongkar dzong** and **Dranang dzong**. From **Dranang dzong** to **Tsetang** there are long distances without construction. One team of workers said they started on 17 October. Another team 10 km away said they started around 24 October and would have to work until 14 December when the winter break begins. They reckoned they would have to work for at least 7 months in 1994 before the road is finished. The present phase of the work seems mainly moving earth to make space for the road and on making rectangular concrete tunnels (50cm - 100cm wide) that are going to lead water from ditches and mountain streams under it. So vehicles going in either direction in November had to make numerous detours along ever changing tracks across the very dusty, uneven, and sandy ground beside - and often far from - the old road. In many places a large area beside the old road was criss-crossed with detour tracks that after only a short time had become unusable.

"I was told that most of the workers are Tibetans and that most of the Tibetan workers are lechepas: from an office in Lhasa. One group of workers said yes when I suggested that their office was *Terka Qu* (the mining office), but later I was told that this is not true. The other Tibetans involved in the work are local farmers. The Chinese workers and the Tibetans from Lhasa all stay in tents. Local Tibetan workers also stay in tents when there's too much distance between the site and their homes. I counted 200 green and white army tents and then gave up. Each easily accommodated 10 workers and measured about 5 X 8 meters. This indicates around 3,000 full time workers. Most tents were in groups up to as many as 30. Along most of the stretch the workers were Tibetans of both sexes but in a few places there were many Chinese men working on

the road. Most of the unskilled road workers were Tibetans. Only Chinese were using explosives to widen the road. The stone cutters were both Tibetans and Chinese. It seemed to be mostly Chinese who were making the concrete tunnels under the future road. The many big road making machines were driven by both Tibetans and Chinese. I saw some Tibetans doing road surveying."

Zangri: "Zangri *xian* is interesting, with lots of large modern-era official buildings, indicating a status superior to that of most *xian* towns - could this be explained by the mining activity in the region? New Chinese leaders (probably replacing the former nominal Tibetan leaders) were posted last year, and seem to have a hard-line attitude. Anyway, it's the only place outside Lhasa where I have heard of direct financial taxes on farmers. (One figure I heard was 100 yuan per *mu* per year - about 1/3 and 1/4 of the amount demanded in Lhasa - but no reliable figures)."

Shigatse, September: "- hitched to Shigatse in a CITS landcruiser; 3 officials - 2 were Tibetan. Driver said the Tibetans were still in the majority. In Shigatse 2 Chinese restaurants were opened in 1993 by couples from **Sichuan**, who said the Government had encouraged them, but gave no special incentives. They were willing and anyway had no work in **Chengdu**."

Lhatse: "Lhatse is the main junction leading to west Tibet and Nepal. In April '93 a Chinese military road building team began a suspension bridge across the Brahmaputra, due to be finished 1994. It replaces the cable ferry. Tibetan workers; Chinese doing the more skilled stuff - six supervising. A friend said that there are 38 skilled Chinese there, and 15 skilled Tibetans apart from a number of labourers."

"In Lhatse in 1986 there was 1 petrol pipe and 2 restaurants, (one from **Xinjiang**, one from **Sichuan**); round the corner were 2 small tobacco/beer Tibetan shops. There was one main general store (government) run by Tibetans, off the main street. By 1988 there were still only 2 or 3 more shops."

"Since 1993 there's a huge new petrol station (long overdue), and about 50 shops built in 1992. One is Tibetan - a general shop but mainly tobacco, right at the end of town. It's 2,000 yuan per year for the permit (from Shigatse), and then something per month per employee."

Nyemo

"Nyemo county, about 100 km west of Lhasa, is in a broad valley floor with side valleys leading off, with lots of mainly rather traditional agriculture. In the central valley are wet grazing fields bordered by irrigated and terraced barley and potato fields. Above these fields there is a zone which is almost barren - very degraded - and then higher in the mountains there are the summer pastures. The agriculture is mainly subsistence. Chemical fertilizers are used a great deal, especially in the neighbourhood of **Nyemo xian** [the county town]."

"Last year a large scale forestation project was launched in the main valley - mainly the fast growing *Populus spec.* for fuelwood in an area of at least 15 sq km. So this, as well as the use of Chinese aluminium

screen radiation cookers, reduces the problem for cooking."

"I heard that Nyemo county was given a bonus of 600,000 yuan for having the best results in development for the whole Lhasa prefecture. They are going to spend some of this on improvements in the Nyemo hospital. There are 6 westerners from the health organisation MSF working in the area on a project about Big Bone Disease, Sanitation, and Primary Health Care teaching."

"In Nyemo *xian* [county town] over the last two years about 40 shops and an ugly district office have been built. The shops are mainly owned by Muslims and Han Chinese."

"Nyemo is about 10 km from the truckstop on the main road. It's a miserable town, with about two cars and a large ugly Chinese administration building at one end of the main street."

"The school is a middle school with 400 pupils, mainly boarders from the countryside, 40 to a class. There are 25 Tibetan teachers and 5 Chinese and they study for 4 hours in the morning, and 2 in the afternoon."

"There are about 40 Chinese in the town in all: 4 Chinese teachers, 12 soldiers [or armed police], 20 government workers including 4 policemen, and some agricultural experts. One of the Chinese told me that it is a fairly prosperous town and that life is OK. The Chinese in Nyemo are from all over the place: **Shaanxi**, **Qinghai**, **Shandong**, **Gansu**, for example. Someone else - a Tibetan - said there were 50-60 Chinese if not more, and lots of soldiers. One wealthier Tibetan I spoke to told me that relations were good: "Tibetans-Chinese, one heart", he said. He was completely drunk, though. When I asked one of the Chinese about relations with the Tibetans, they replied, "Don't speak turmoil".

"There was a tiny cake stall on the pavement of the main street run by a Chinese couple from the countryside. They looked shy and introverted - not much like entrepreneurs - and I couldn't imagine why they would have gone there on their own. They had a baby, and they ran a small cake shop as well, in a street of Tibetan houses, with very few other shops."

"Someone told me that the farmers in Nyemo have to sell half of the harvest to the Government as an indirect tax, but this may be an exaggeration."

"I heard that there was a basket ball match in May between teachers and soldiers which turned into a fight. Local government was going to arrest the teachers involved but the whole school went on strike in protest and they were let off the hook. Someone told me that the teachers had been roughed up by the Chinese. There was another story about a mixed nationality dance the previous January which had ended in a drunken brawl."

ECONOMY

TAR Budget, 1993: Official Text

In January 1993 the Finance Minister for the Tibet Autonomous Region presented his report on the 1992 budget and the proposed budget for 1993. The report was presented to the delegates of the regional branch of the People's Congress, and would almost certainly have been rubber stamped by that organisation.

In addition, the translation here, although it is taken from a 17 page official document marked for internal circulation, is from the Tibetan text. Although official, this text is essentially a cosmetic device, following 1987 regulations mandating dual-language versions of all documents. It would have been itself a translation from the Chinese text, and many mistakes are likely to have crept into the translation, since all the preparation and discussion would have been done in Chinese and using the Chinese text.

All figures refer to units of "thi" (ten thousand) yuan. We have added our reading of these figures in square brackets, but the numbering system used is unclear (a decimal point appears to be used sometimes as a comma is used in English to separate three digits, and at other times to indicate a decimal fraction) and apparently inconsistent, and our readings are not authoritative. Emphases and paragraphing are added by us to make the basic information more accessible. [TIN Ref.: 22(YK)].

Report on the implementation of the financial budget for 1992 and a description of the budget planned for 1993 for TAR.

Document No.11 of the first session of the 6th Plenary Congress of the [National] People's Congress of the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR).

Delivered in January 1993 at the [NPC] meeting, when the financial minister, **Tian Buqun** [Tha'in Hbu Cun] of the TAR [Government] gave the following report:

Comrades,

I have been asked by the government of the TAR to give this report on the implementation of the budget for 1992 and to give a description of the budget planned for 1993 for the TAR. I hope you will examine the budget.

Part One: Concerning the implementation of the 1992 Budget.

In 1992 all the people of different nationalities in our region practised the Reform and Open Door Policy more intensively, under the guidance of Deng Xiaoping's important instructions which he gave while he was on inspection in the southern part of China, and under the guidance of the 14th Plenary of the Communist Party. Despite the fact that some agricultural and husbandry areas suffered serious drought, they still achieved good productivity. Industrial production has also risen. Tertiary industry and village enterprises have all speeded up their output.

There were more funds invested in 'fixed assets': the fundamental framework of construction has speeded up. The reform of the economic structure continues to intensify, uninterrupted. Prices have stabilised. The market has flourished and the living standards of the people have risen and so on. It is on this good foundation that the financial work has had results. It is hoped that the financial budget has been carried out more efficiently than in previous years.

At the 5th Session of the 6th Plenary Congress of the TAR, the 1992 budget was agreed.

The total financial income for the whole region was estimated at 114.872 [1,148,720,000] yuan. Within this figure the region's own [self-generated] income was estimated at 2.150 [21,500,000]. **Financial expenditure was estimated at 114.872 [1,148,720,000].**

To implement the whole year's budget for the region, the Centre [the Central Chinese Government] granted a special fund and financial aid of 32.895 [328,950,000]. So our financial strength has increased by a further 147.767 [1,477,670,000].

After carrying out the budget, our achievement was that our region generated 10.218 [102,180,000] which was 8.068 [80,680,000] more than the estimated budget. **Financial expenditure was 164.856 [1,648,560,000],** which exceeded the estimate by 17.089 [170,890,000].

After balancing overall expenditure and income, our expenditure exceeded our income by 9.021 [90,210,000]. We will balance this shortfall by using the special fund which was left over after calculating last year's budget, and by using the money that was surplus in previous years.

Financial income includes:

- industrial and commercial taxes of 14.221 [142,210,000] (exceeding the estimated plan for this item by 165.4%)
- tax paid by state owned enterprises was 4.687 [46,870,000] (108.2% more than the plan).
- according to our plan to cover the losses of the state-owned enterprises, we had 12.967 [129,670,000], which was successfully realised [?] (99.8% of the plan).
- we funded state resources and primary construction of the transport system with 2.000 [20,000,000]. This was successfully completed (200% over the plan).
- from those undertaking 'responsibility contracts' in state-owned enterprises 1.345 [13,450,000] was put into the treasury and this was successfully completed (71.3% of the plan).
- other income was 3.242 [32,420,000], and this was successfully completed [p3] (176.0% of the plan for that item).

Financial expenditure was as follows:

- basic construction: 29.742 [297,420,000] (117.8% of the plan for that item).
- support of rural production activities: 10.654 [106,540,000] (112.2% of the plan)
- industrial and transportation costs: 7.506 [75,060,000] (107.8% of the plan).
- culture, education and health costs: 32.500 [325,000,000] (193.4% of the plan). Within this figure education costs were 16.058 [160,580,000] (101.9% of the plan).
- social welfare benefits expenditure: 5.405 [54,050,000] (146.8% of the plan).
- administration costs: 25.549 [255,490,000] (119.2% of the plan).
- expenditure on security investigation and the judicial system: 7.736 [77,360,000] (141.7% of the plan).
- general or miscellaneous expenditure: 17.000 [170,000,000] (85.6% of the plan).

When doing the calculations at the end of the financial year, the implementation of the above-mentioned budget will be slightly different.

1992's budget was done under the conditions of a big change in the forces of supply and demand. There was more demand than financial supply. At the beginning of the year, when planning the budget, there were not sufficient financial resources and it was hard to balance the currency. We tried to balance the currency, but because of the lack of financial resources, there were lots of figures which were left out of the books at that time. During the implementation of the whole year's budget, we also made policies to increase the state's financial support, to put into place price subsidies for the rise in grain prices and to increase wages and the value of bonus payments. At the same time, our region suffered from drought and earthquake. Such serious natural disasters meant that financial expenditure had to be increased. The contradiction between demand and supply had become more serious. Under these circumstances, and under the leadership of different levels of the Communist Party, the mass staff of the financial and revenue departments improved their efficiency and intensified reform and did everything [p4] possible to increase the income and save money on expenditure and also did much hard work to enhance administrative management, so that the budget could be balanced.

Part 1.

We have improved our way of thinking and have enhanced the administration management of our financial work. The contradiction between the daily growing demand and the financial resources that are available, is becoming more and more serious. To solve this problem, in recent years, the financial departments of our region have put a lot of effort into the improvement of administrative management. We have always presumed that improvement of the financial

work depends on the administrative management at all levels, so we made outstanding achievements in developing the local economy. At the beginning of 1992, Comrade Deng Xiaoping gave important instructions on his way to the south of China for inspection. Since then, our region has gone through more intense reform. The 'Open Door' policy has been practised more widely and the economy and the construction work has been greatly enhanced. Financial departments at all levels have taken this great opportunity to enhance their management to help develop the productivity of their work. At the same time, they found new financial resources to enhance the management of revenue work, so that the financial income of our region has increased a lot. **In 1992 the whole region's financial income in the budget was 10.218** [102,180,000]. This is 7.983 [79,830,000] more than the previous year. This is a 339.5% increase [sic - if correct it would be an increase of 457.2%] on the past year's income figure. This is the highest level we have ever achieved. (The targets of the 8th Five Year Plan are more likely to be achieved).

The increase in financial income proves that our region's economy has developed well. First, the foreign trade department has successfully practised the Centre's policy toward our region and they have broadened the export and import work so that foreign trade enterprises have made great advances. The customs income has also increased. The sum of money they have contributed to the treasury was 1.36 times that of the previous year. [p5] Secondly, economic development and the broadening of possible sources of tax revenue, reinforcement of the management of taxation, re-organisation of the tax departments and staff, improvement of the method of collecting taxes and promotion of the tax laws and policies has meant that all the tax collection work has benefited.

Part 2.

We have helped intensify the reform of enterprises and helped those struggling enterprises, so that the economic situation has improved.

Profits from state-owned enterprises have been the main source of income for the treasury. At the end of 1991 we had developed twenty ways of improving the management of state-owned enterprises. To ensure the implementation of these methods, all levels of the financial departments underwent strict research, so that at the beginning of 1992 we were able to have a complete method of improving the reform of the financial work.

The delegation of power from upper levels to the lower, the rights of the enterprise itself to deal with its own income and expenditure and to use its own resources for its own benefit, have all been practised. The market forces have increased and have forced the struggling

enterprises to advance. [p6] We tried out the following method:

Part 3.

1. Differentiating between tax and income.
2. After paying taxes, to pay off the debt.
3. After paying taxes, to divide the profit.

We enhanced the management of capital belonging to the state. We have strengthened control of capital turnover and we have improved the credibility of the financial work.

Part 4.

In 1992 every level of the financial department had put all its efforts into solving all sorts of financial problems, but the expenditure rose in various areas:

- construction costs basically grew by 9823 [98,230,000],
 - subsidy for the rural areas grew by 1.868 [18,680,000].
 - Industrial and transportation expenditure grew by 2.009 [20,090,000].
 - education and health costs rose by 2.498 [24,980,000].
 - relief and aid costs grew by 1.041 [104,100,000].
 - administrative fees rose by 2.780 [27,800,000].
- So, overall, the policy of benefitting the industrial construction work has been implemented. Some areas of our region suffered from earthquakes and we, the financial department, spent 224 [2,240,000] to restore and rebuild the lives and productivity in those areas which suffered.

Part 5.

To reinforce the financial work of the *dzongs* [counties] and to make their work easier. [p7]

In 1992 it was on our agenda to develop the *dzongs'* financial work. We chose some *dzongs* to do special research. In 1992 the *dzongs'* financial income was 16.7% higher than the previous year. All the *dzongs* have taken a big step forward. In the agricultural and husbandry areas, we have not collected taxes for some years, so the *dzongs'* income has now increased by a certain amount. However, the actual income has been affected by price rises and a change in wages policy. This has meant that the expenditure still could not be lower than the income and every *dzong* had its financial difficulties. TAR has used nearly a hundred million yuan for the purpose of solving the financial difficulties of cities and *dzongs*. In 1992, our financial and economic work has developed but we must realise we still have difficulties. Firstly, the foundation of our economy is quite poor. [p8] The financial income resources are not stable and although in recent years our income has been great, we have not yet balanced this with our expenditure. The main obstacle in developing our region's economy is lack of funding. Secondly, apart from the usual expenditure, individuals' expenditure has

increased. Thirdly, in the past, we have balanced our budget by using surplus funds to subsidise it. However, this surplus is now drying up, so it is becoming more and more difficult. Fourthly, overall, there has not been a tight enough control over financial management. This has meant that we have been unable to control the Socialist Market Economy, and we need to improve this. The imbalances in our economy are symbolised by our financial difficulties. The financial problems are, in fact, the problems of the economy in general.

So, only after developing the economy will our financial problems be solved. We hope that the representatives of the Congress and members of the political consultative conference will give us good instructions and support us in our financial work.

Section 2. The Draft 1993 Budget.

The overall projected budget for 1993 is 128.032.6 [sic - 1,280,326,000?], which is 13.160.6 [131,606,000?] higher than last year's first season budget. This is 11.5% higher [than 1992].

Within this figure:

- 107.147 [1,071,470,000] is funding from Central government. - 4420 [44,420,000] is earmarked for specific purposes.

We have set aside:

- for the central government: 34.4 [3,440,000 ?].
- for other funds: 8.500 [85,000,000].

Our region's projected financial income is 8.000 [80,000,000].

In the spirit of the 14th plenary of the Communist Party, and the Financial Work meeting, our 1993 budget's guiding ideology is as follows:

According to the spirit of the 14th plenary of the Communist Party, to build up the Socialist Market Economy, intensify reform and the 'Open Door' policy, to discover new income resources, reinforce the management of taxation, accumulate as much income as possible, to tighten controls on expenditure after guaranteeing funds for special and common needs, to make progress in agriculture, husbandry, education, science and technology, to support the power resources and transportation, and to support the construction of power and communication networks. [p9]

According to this guiding ideology, we have planned the budget as follows:

The total projected income of TAR is 8.000

[80,000,000]. It is 5.850 [58,500,000] more than last year, representing a 2.7 fold growth:

- taxes collected from industrial and commercial interests will be 8.100 [81,000,000] [1.500 [15,000,000] more than last year, representing a growth of 22.7%).

- taxes collected from special activities, including those taxes replaced by commercial and industrial tax, will be 4.000 [40,000,000] (2.000 [20,000,000] more than last year's budget, or a 100% increase).
- taxes from state-owned enterprises will be 4.330 [43,300,000] (similar to last year).
- money used for subsidising state enterprise losses will be 11.910 [119,100,000] (1.088 [108,800,000] less than last year, an 8.4% drop).
- Other forms of income will be 2.700 [27,000,000] (858 [8,580,000] more than last year, an increase of 46.4%).

Money used for the state's power resources and for construction, especially transport construction, will be 1.300 [13,000,000] (300 [3,000,000] more than last year, a 30% increase).

The total regional financial expenditure will be 128.032.6 [1,280,326,000?] (13.160.6 [131,606,000?] more than last year - an 11.5% increase). [This expenditure will consist of:

- basic construction costs: 1.5000 [sic - 150,000,000?] (similar to last year).
- science and technological costs: 680 [6,800,000] (70 [700,000] more than last year, an 11.5% increase).
- rural support: 8.987 [89,870,000] (920 [9,200,000] more than last year, an 11.4% increase). [p10]
- emergency relief: 500 [5,000,000].
- development of husbandry: 500 [5,000,000].
- agriculture, forestry, irrigation and meteorological costs, etc.: 7.158 [71,580,000] (650 [6,500,000] more than last year's budget, a 10% increase).
- industrial and transportation costs: 6.756 [67,560,000] (796 [7,960,000] more than last year, up by 13.4%).
- culture, education, and health costs are 32.240 [322,400,000] (3674.3 [sic - 36,743,000?] more - an increase of 12.9%). Within this figure education costs represent 16.593 [165,930,000] (1.724.5 [17,245,000?] more, an 11.6% increase).
- science costs are 437 [4,370,000] (46 [460,000] more than last year, an 11.8% increase).
- bonuses, premiums and social benefits costs: 3.575 [35,750,000] (500 [5,000,000] more than last year, a 16.3% increase).
- administration and management costs - 22.007 [220,070,000] (3.668 [36,680,000] more, a 20% increase).

The most important thing is that in 1992 the cost of workers' wages and privileges rose. The cost of subsidising price increases was 1.06 [sic].^a This is

- 1.459 [14,590,000] less than the previous year, a drop of 57.9%.^b
- support for backward areas: 2.100 [21,000,000] (the same as last year's budget).
- miscellaneous costs are 14.696.6 [sic - 146,966,000?] (2.959.5 [29,595,000] more - a 25.2% increase).
- border area construction: 780 [7,800,000].
- planned expenditure in line with the special policy towards Ngari and other remote hinterland areas: 400 [4,000,000].
- support for areas where minority nationalities live: 120 [1,200,000].

The costs of developing the Tibetan language and written Tibetan, to construct roads in rural areas, to recruit for the army and to solve smuggling problems, are included in the category called "miscellaneous expenditure". Altogether, we have prepared 3.000 [30,000,000] which is the same as last year. Within it we will spend [word unclear] which will be used by different *dzongs* in the region. The money spent on different *dzongs* will be 2.000 [20,000,000]. [p11] The 1993 budget needs two explanations as follows:

First, **the whole region's estimated income is 8.000 [80,000,000]**: this is 2.7 times [the figure for] the previous year, but it is 2.000 [20,000,000] or more below the income accrued in 1992. This is because although the effects of the whole economy have increased, after practising responsibility contracts, those enterprises with losses in the previous years had to be sold - so the income increased from these enterprises. However, we haven't been able to show this from a financial point of view.

Reform in foreign trade has continued, but the control of licenses has weakened. Therefore the privilege of practising our region's foreign trade has weakened. Because competition has intensified, import and taxation income will increase, which will certainly help to increase the whole year's financial income.

Secondly, the main financial resource is capable of being maintained. We are able to manage the main financial forces which help us to balance overall income and expenditure. Some expenditure may perhaps have been left out and this will mean unexpected expense. It is for this reason that we must be economical in practising the budget. At the same time we must try and solve these problems with the help of central government.

Section 3.

To make achievements in the financial work of 1993, let us be firm and forge ahead!

^a Presumably this is a printing error: it should be around 2.500, going by the next figure provided - TIN.

^b This seems contradictory, but it may mean that because of increases in privileges and bonuses included with wages, costs of directly subsidising price increases went down - TIN

1. 1993 is a year in which we, in the spirit of the 14th Plenary of the Communist [Party] Congress and after implementing our region's Reform and 'Open Door' Policy, must try to move our economy up to a higher level.

After analysing our whole situation, we have discovered that there are many factors which help us to achieve our goals. Nevertheless, we also found great imbalances within the economy in our region. These will affect our financial work. In the budget, we have strictly arranged our income and expenditure, so when implementing the budget it is obvious that we cannot be flexible. The burden on the financial work is still very heavy, so it will be harder to implement this year's budget than last year's. It is very important that every level of the tax revenue department must liberate their thinking and be firm! Forge ahead! To balance the 1993 budget they must do their best to:-

- 1) Liberate the mind - change your way of thinking.
- 2) Forge ahead!
- 3) Make new initiatives.

Our country's Reform and 'Open Door' Policy has reached a new stage. The 14th Plenary of the Communist Congress has developed an important theory to construct the marketing economy, and it will liberate the productive force of our society. It will also push forward the nation's whole economy. All staff from the revenue departments especially those who are leaders must study well the spirit of the 14th Plenary of the Communist Congress, and liberate their minds, change their attitudes, forge ahead and make new initiatives. For too long we have been dependent on others. Now we must stand on our own two feet. We must rely on our own strength. We must construct well the Socialist Market Economy and the industrial and commercial economy, and through it, we must train ourselves well. We must avoid just being spectators of the Reform and Open Door Policy. We must be active participants in the process. We must take bold steps forward to improve the economy of our region.

2. With the spirit of the 14th Plenary of the Communist Congress as our guide we must construct the Socialist Market Economy, reform the tax system and forge ahead!

In reforming the tax system, we must put enterprise reform first. We must reform the management of the enterprises financial work. In general, we must be strict, but we can allow flexibility in particular instances. The value of state-owned goods and materials must be stabilised. Only in a stable financial climate can we raise the value. We must give enterprises the authority to decide the use of their own funds and grants and bonus money, and in setting their own wages, so that the enterprises can really practise ownership. If they go bankrupt, or make a profit, it will be their own responsibility. Their progress is up to

them. They have to organise themselves. In this way, those involved in commercial and industrial production will change from just being producers to being managers of their own businesses.

First, we must continue to improve the system of 'Management Responsibility'. We must practise the following reforms:

- "Differentiate between tax and profit".*
- "After paying off tax, pay the debt".*
- "After paying tax - divide the profit".*

In this way, we can solve the problem of dividing profits between the state and the enterprise.

Secondly, according to the state's main plan, our region's accountancy system must take a further step towards reform so that we can gradually implement the state's new unified accountancy system. We must improve our accountancy work and establish an organisation of accountants of a higher standard. The accountancy work must be efficient.

Thirdly, we must reform the industrial and commercial tax system, so that it will be appropriate for the needs of a market economy. We must also reform the payment system. We will introduce a payment permit and receipt system. We must develop tertiary industry and we must also investigate the income for tertiary industry and enhance the administrative management of it. And on this foundation we must secure its income. We must make it sound for the market economy's development. We must continue the reform of the administration of the financial system, reform the price system and the housing system.

3. Develop the economy, broaden and stabilise the financial income resources.

Our policy and funding should enable the developments of agriculture, husbandry, village industry and tertiary industry. We must guarantee that the policies and methods we have developed to advance our enterprises are well executed. We must try to make the enterprises more robust and more efficient, and through economic development we must guarantee and sort out more financial income resources. We must stabilise our financial income so that it can support our region's construction with more funds.

On one hand, the current income must be managed well and the tax work must be reinforced through practising "the Taxation Management Law". We must reinforce the collection and management of taxation so that the whole taxation process may be better accomplished.

Central Government has made special policies for our region. We must practise them well according to our circumstances, and develop our foreign trade enterprises, widening our imports and exports and in this way generate more income. We must also increase other income and we should ensure that our region's

contributions to the state are paid punctually. We must not pay a penny less to the state treasury than is asked for. On the other hand, we must be far-sighted in basing financial income resources on material foundations. By practising the Centre's special policy of assistance toward our region, we must develop border trade, increasing import and export figures and helping the construction of the border.

Finally, according to the economic development, we should reintroduce some old taxation practices and at the same time, by operating new practices, we must widen our sources of income.

4. Holding back the reigns of expenditure by improving financial management.

Cutting down on expenditure is the crucial work of balancing the budget. Our current situation is that there are not enough income resources to enable us to run the region's economy on our own. So cutting down on expenditure is very important. We must continue to have the spirit of economic viability - we must cut down the expenditure on holding meetings and receptions and buying cars and so-on. We must implement "The management of state budgeting". Our region's budget must be strictly carried out. No enterprise or individual will be allowed to act beyond its limits. If there is any special necessity to increase the budget, we must act in accordance with strict procedures. We must change the current trend of more expenditure than income.

5. We must enhance the management of state-owned assets.

We must maintain the ownership, management and use of state-owned assets, and keep this separate while developing the market economy. With this in mind, we must make an inventory of state-owned assets and take stock of state capital, and we must reform the management of state-owned assets.

6. Enhance and develop the financial work of the dzongs (counties)

Region and root levels should organise experts to manage financial and planning work. Each *dzong* level must enhance its financial work and must have its own well-developed plans. We have set aside a circulating fund to help the development of financial work for the *dzongs*. The effectiveness of this fund depends on each *dzong*'s ability to plan and manage its use. In fact, the development of each *dzong*'s economy depends on its ability to use the fund. We are willing to offer full support.

7. We will continue to scrutinise taxes, finances, and prices.

By widescale inspection, we have managed to control the guidelines for economic and financial work, and by continued inspection, we have made great improvements in this area. However, there are some

departments which do not stick to the guidelines. We must insist that these departments pay back to the treasury all the money that they owe. We must re-organise these inefficient units' administration groups. The purification of the organisation of the economic groups is part of the reform of the economy and the financial work. And by doing this, we should make great achievements in our region's economic and financial field.

Comrades, the task of taxation and financial work for 1993 is quite a heavy one. To balance the budget for 1993 is also quite hard, but under the guidance of the 14th Plenary of the Communist Congress and by implementing our party's fundamental policies and under the leadership of the party at all levels, and by the support of all departments at all levels, I believe we can take advantage of the present good situation, and by liberating our minds and by enhancing management, we will achieve our financial budget's whole aim.

The Economy: Official Statistics

A summary of Chinese media reports on foreign trade, agriculture and other aspects of the economy in Tibet and Qinghai, selected from the BBC Summary of World Broadcasts (SWB).

Economic Policy

18 Nov: Tibet has stepped up the reform of the economic structure and the pace of transition to a market economy, Lhasa television reported. Tax collection and financial work was strengthened. (SWB W 15 Dec.)

4 Jan: The TAR still maintained a highly centralised planned economy, Xinhua commented. Reform was more "prudent" because of "special economic conditions". However, at end-1993 the government called for a drive for development to catch up with the rest of the country. Enterprises were becoming more competitive. The first group of young people taking a Sino-US broker training course graduated at New Year, and futures and stock markets were to be established in Tibet in 1994. Businesses and street markets were flourishing, it said. (SWB 6 Jan)

10 Jan: Tibet's first stock exchange opened in Lhasa today, Xinhua reported. The main trading hall covering 260 square metres has been equipped with several terminals. An electronic indicator gives prices in Shanghai and Shenzhen. Chen Ciduan, president of the Tibet Investment Corporation (but see above note from Xinhua of 5th Jan, which names **Chen Iru** as President of the TTIC), noted that Shanghai and Shenzhen were backing them. More than 200 shareholders had been registered. (SWB 13 Jan)

13 Jan: Tibet, Xinjiang and other poor areas are planning experimental economic development zones on the model of the Qingyuan (Guangdong) EEDZ, Xinhua reported. Qingyuan has succeeded in attracting investment and creating jobs for the poor living around the city. (SWB 17 Jan)

16 Jan: TAR Chairman **Gyaincain Norbu**, in a major report at the regional economic work conference, declared that economic indicators were up, rural and pastoral areas had developed steadily, animal husbandry remained about the same, town and village enterprises had grown "rather rapidly". Industrial output, foreign trade, foreign investment were all up. Markets were brisk. Education was extended. Reform was developed.

The economic structure began to reform. "The fundamental role of the market in the allocation of resources was initially brought into play", Norbu noted. Guidelines for this year's economic work included: deepening reform, ensuring stability, tailoring TAR systems to fit those elsewhere in China, concentrating on infrastructure, fighting corruption. "We should take measures to prevent troubles, especially serious ones, from occurring", Norbu concluded. "Reform is bound to touch or break old systems, old economic relations and old patterns of interest...Party committees and governments should make all possible preparations against the occurring of serious problems". (SWB 31 Jan)

19 Jan: There is a "new outlook of reform and opening up, a new momentum of hard work and a prevailing mood of concentrating all resources on economic construction", TAR vice-chairman **Yang Chuantang** said, *Tibet Daily* reported on 20 January.

Yang pointed out that fast economic growth depended on fast reform; unity in thinking, understanding and action were required but "temporary differences" were only natural; squabbling was to be avoided; leaders should "grasp the pulse of the man in the street" and pay particular attention to those who lack food and clothing. "This year will be a crucial year for promoting overall reform", he concluded. (SWB 15 Feb)

22 Jan: Ciren Zhouga [**Tsering Drolkar**], vice-chairman of the TAR government, urged the closing meeting of a three-day conference on economic restructuring to "work hard to establish a new economic system", *Tibet Daily* reported on 24 January. Ciren set out five points for action: 1. study conference guidelines; 2. build groundwork for modern enterprise system; 3. do not neglect reforms in farming and pastoral areas; 4. coordinate measures slated for this year; 5. carry out reform "relentlessly". (SWB 15 Feb)

21 Jan: A five-point requirement for fulfilment of this year's reforms in Tibet was put forward at a TAR work conference by **Yang Chuantang**, standing committee of the TAR party committee and executive vice-chairman of the regional government, *Tibet Daily* reported. These were

- 1. to make reform the top priority;
- 2. to strengthen leadership over reform;
- 3. to emancipate minds, make innovations and sober estimates;
- 4. to improve economic restructuring departments;
- 5. to study more.

Xiao Huaiyuan, director of the TAR economic research centre, outlined six tasks for economic restructuring. They were:

- 1. continue to implement regulations on changing management in state-owned enterprise;
 - 2. stabilise and perfect the party's policies in farming and pastoral areas;
 - 3. establish more markets;
 - 4. reform fiscal, tax, investment and foreign trade systems and set up controls appropriate to a market economy;
 - 5. reform the social security system;
 - 6. promote urban housing reform.
- He added "This year, reforms will be carried out ...with an intensity and difficulty never seen before". (SWB 10 Feb)

8 Feb: **Gyaltzen Norbu** says that in 1994 "Reform...will produce new contradictions, problems and difficulties". Economic work should focus on increasing income of peasants and herders; reforming state industries; making sure Tibet's economy grows at 8% this year. (SWB 7 March)

12 March: By 1997, TAR's GDP will reach yuan 4.8 bn, Yang Chuantang, vice chairman of the regional government, declared. (SWB 14 March)

Foreign Trade

17 October 1993: Gyaincain Norbu, Chairman of the TAR, said he welcomed foreign investment in Tibet, Xinhua reported. There are already more than 30 foreign funded companies in Tibet, while in the past 18 months businessmen from Germany, Singapore and other places have visited. Measures to improve the investment climate include US\$1.1 bn worth of infrastructure projects, over 40 new border trade companies and more freedoms for companies (SWB 10 Nov.).

21 Oct 1993: Xigaze's [Shigatse] economy is growing every year, Xinhua claimed. Xigaze also set up 17 trading posts in frontier counties (handling yuan 230 m worth of trade) and signed contracts for 13 co-operative projects with inland provinces or investors. These were worth over yuan 23 m. (SWB 22 Nov.).

18 Nov. 1993: Total value of foreign trade in January-October was US dollars 46.4 m, up 122 % over the same last year. At the time, there were 53 foreign trade enterprises in the TAR. (SWB W 15 Dec.)

21 Dec. 1993: Tibet's import and export trade rose to US\$33 m in the first half of 1993, 2.2 times the amount in the same period of 1992, Xinhua reported. (SWB W 5 Jan)

14 Jan. 1994: the TAR Foreign Trade Co.'s joint venture with Nepali businessmen to make carpets, set up in Lhasa in 1993 with Nepali investment of US\$100,000 and yuan 2.2m, produced over 600 square metres of handmade carpets by end-1993, *Tibet Daily* reported. Its exports were worth US\$388,000 and imports via border trade US\$160,000. (SWB W 16 Feb)

16 Jan. 1994: A major report at the regional economic work said that foreign Trade was US\$ 100m, 55.4% over 1993, with US\$ 20m exports and US\$ 80m imports, increases of 3.6% and 77.% respectively over 1993. Foreign Investment contracted in 1993 for was yuan 67.1 m, with US\$ dollars 9.63 m (SWB 31 Jan.).

22 Jan: The number of overseas-funded firms rose from 3 in 1991 to over 60 by 1993, Xinhua reported. This involved foreign investment of more than US\$96 m. (SWB W 9 Feb)

1 Feb: Yang Song, vice-chairman of the TAR government, praised the economy and declared that Tibet would greet its 30th anniversary with economic successes, Lhasa radio said. He said there were 40 projects approved with foreigners or inland China, representing investment of yuan 67.11 m and US\$9.63 m. (SWB 18 Feb.).

2 Feb: To increase trade with neighbouring countries 28 markets on the frontiers have been set up, Xinhua said. (SWB 5 Feb.)

3 Feb: Last year Tibet approved 41 projects involving foreign funds, *Tibet Daily* reported. The US, Germany, Nepal, Hongkong and Malaysia have all invested in Tibet. These brought in more than yuan 100m. Projects include:

Hong Kong Shiheng group and Lhasa City electric power group plus a tourist company, to make the Hongjingtan range of products.

Atewufei Co. (name as received) of the US (investing yuan 9.5 m) with the region's association of self-employed labourers to set up Tibet Yak Meat Products Co. Ltd.

Nepali businessmen invested yuan 7.5 m with the Chengguan District Ethnic Handicrafts Administration in Lhasa to set up the Tibet Carpet Co. Ltd.

Dadi Real Estate Development Co. (Hong Kong) with Liyuan Scientific and Technological Development Co. set up Tibet-Hongkong Yishou Products Co. to make health care products.

Also the Tibet Qomolangma Carpet Co. Ltd, Tibet Kawajian Carpet and Woollen Handicrafts Co. Ltd., and Tibet Zhihui Cultural Development Co. Ltd.

Enterprises from other parts of China set up companies in Tibet, e.g. China Ferrous Metals Corporation and Chengdu Qiaofeng Modern Office Equipment Co.

Bringing in funds from abroad and from inland China has alleviated shortages of investment funds. (SWB 15 Feb)

6 Feb: Danzim, deputy secretary of the TAR party committee, according to Lhasa radio, announced that the number of foreign-funded enterprises in Tibet rose from 6 to 27 in 1993 with registered funds reaching US\$24.7 m. (SWB W 16 Feb)

7 Feb: TAR imports totalled US\$51.2 m and exports \$868,000 in 1993, the total increasing by 32% over 1992, *Tibet Daily* reported. (SWB W 9 Feb)

12 Feb: Opening up and strengthening links with the rest of China continued, Lhasa radio said. Tibet organisations set up nearly 100 trade missions. The regional department of economic relations and trade set up more than 20 trade centres in the coastal areas. In

Hainan alone, Tibet has set up more than 10 enterprises. Foreign trade was \$100, a rise over 1992 of 55.4%.

Tourism

17 October 1993: The TAR has so far built 23 hotels for foreigners and has more than 20 tourism agencies, Xinhua reported (SWB 10 Nov.).

18 Nov: Tourist income in January-September rose by only 0.44%, though tourist numbers went up by over 10% to nearly 18,000 (SWB W 15 Nov.).

16 Jan. 1994: A major report at the regional economic work conference said that foreign tourism in 1993 earned 100m yuan, 10% over 1992, making earnings in foreign exchange of US\$ 9m, a 7.9% increase. There were 23,000 tourists, a 15% increase over 1992. (SWB 31 Jan.).

19 Jan: 55.4% up. Tourists were up 15% to 26,000, and earnings were US\$9.49 m, up 7.9% (SWB W 2 Feb.).

8 Feb: *Tibet Daily* reported that in 1993 the number of tourists was 23,000 and the income from tourism was yuan 106 m (SWB 7 Mar.).

(Xinjiang: Xinjiang received about 240,000 foreign tourists and earned US\$40.02 in 1993, Xinhua reported. From July up to now nearly 300,000 people from Pakistan, Mongolia and the CIS came to Xinjiang for shopping (SWB W 9 Feb)).

Taxation

16 November 1993: The TAR finance department and economic and planning committee has announced that fees payable on 20 services which officials should be providing free would be abolished, Lhasa TV reported. This measure, which follows central government policy, was designed to reduce corruption (SWB 29 Nov.).

20 Dec: Tibetans in the TAR enjoyed bigger tax concessions than anyone else in China, according to Xinhua. The tax burden on an individual household manufacturing and trading at a medium level was estimated at about one third the national average. There were over 40,000 households in this category in the TAR, of which around three quarters were Tibetan and only about a tenth of those pay taxes. Collective or privately owned businesses paid virtually no taxes except those which deal in liquor, chromium ore and wool or cashmere. Township enterprises were to be tax free till the year 2000. The region levied 18 categories of taxes, 23 less than other areas. These reductions had been coming into force since 1980 to promote development. (SWB 22 Dec.)

26 Jan: Since the start of the anti-corruption campaign, party and government are trying to check the very unpopular indiscriminate collection of fees, Lhasa radio reported. It was established that there were 177 kinds of fees at regional level and 1,337 rules for their collection. Cases of indiscriminate collection of fees, fines and misappropriation of public funds totalling yuan 1.76 million were revealed. At the end of 1993, the TAR cancelled 20 kinds of fees and some prefectures and cities cancelled 216.

The TAR Education commission cancelled six kinds of fees, the Foreign Affairs Office cut seven above the standard passport fee which had been charged to people going abroad. The Regional Agricultural Commission checked on 13 types of fee which were a burden to peasants and herders, the Lhasa Public Security Bureau checked on 118 kinds of fee, cancelled seven and temporarily stopped 25 others. The city public security bureau also checked on fines, household fees and car decoration fees, finding yuan 300,000 which should not have been collected (SWB 4 Feb.).

27 Jan: The TAR will soon implement a new finance management system, tax plan and enterprise profits distribution system, *Tibet Daily* reported. It will be adapted to Tibet from the national system, cutting the number of tax categories from 18 to nine and will have different rules on tax deferment, retention, expense deduction and similar. The tax targets are to be increased, but as Tibet gets preferential treatment, the total amount of tax paid will not rise, the paper says.

Revenues from the new taxes will be divided between the localities, while the new enterprise profits system will allow most to retain their profits. (SWB 15 Feb)

7 Feb: Ci Nuo [TSenor?], director of the TAR Tax Bureau, declared Tibet last year had collected a record 210 m. yuan in tax, the *Tibet Daily* reported. Ci, "a cool-headed and fast talking official" outlined tax reforms, noting that the tax system had been left over from the '50s but had now been rationalised. The overall burden on the population had not been increased, and preferential policies had been retained. Some localities were allowed to be self-sufficient (SWB 7 March).

Communications and Technology

18 Nov: Tibet has stepped up the reform of the economic structure and the pace of transition to a market economy, Lhasa television reported. Three projects were completed, the Yangbajin thermal power station, the Erchan cooling tower and the Lhasa handicraft plant's leather and horn-ware workshops. Modernisation at the Lhasa thermopower plant, Lhasa cement plant and other major projects was being stepped up.

The volume of posts and telecommunications work rose 10.3%, as measured by fees collected (yuan 22 m). Preparation for more than 50 satellite communications stations at the county level had been completed, and more than 20 put into operation. Programmed telephone networks with automatic switchboards were completed in Shannan, Xigaze, Ngari and Qamdo prefectures. As of the end of August, work had begun on the regional colour TV centre and the Chalong power station. The runway for Bamao airport was finished in September. The region had 17 technological transport projects. (SWB W 15 Dec.)

21 Nov: The largest solar power station in China went into operation in the TAR, Xinhua claimed. In Gerze in Ngari prefecture, it had a capacity of 20 kW. The re were two others operating and more were planned. (SWB W 1 Dec.)

27 Nov: This month direct domestic and international calls became possible in a 117 prefectural cities in the TAR, Xinhua reported. Work on satellite stations, automatic exchanges and mobile phones was continuing. (SWB W 8 Dec.)

16 Jan: TAR Chairman Gyaincain Norbu delivered a major report at the regional economic work conference, Lhasa radio reported. Infrastructure was proceeding well. Construction of Bamda airport runway near Chamdo was "basically" completed. The Sichuan-Xizang, Xinjiang-Xizang, China-Nepal and (?Zegong) highways were repaired or rebuilt on schedule. Plans for building of Yanghu and Chalong power stations were overfulfilled. Gonggar airport extension was completed. The telephone system was much improved. (SWB 31 Jan)

4 Feb: A highway has been built to reach Medog, the last county inaccessible by road in the Nyingchi region of the TAR, Xinhua reported. It took ten years and yuan 10 million to build. (SWB 5 Feb)

17 Feb: Tibetans take pride in the achievements of "their" country China and believe they should acknowledge the benefits they receive from the Chinese government, Xinhua reported. "By 1985, hardly a household in our village of more than 60 households had one TV set or could eat delicious meals", said Purpu Zhaxi, from Lhasa. "Now, however, most of the households have built new houses and bought colour TV sets. These were all brought about by the good policies of the Chinese government", he added, according to Xinhua. (SWB 24 Feb)

12 March: Deputies from the TAR to the NPC gave details of its economic growth in 1993, according to Xinhua. Power generating capacity reached 170,000 kW. A 22,000 km highway network covers TAR's 74 cities, prefectures and counties. A satellite communications network has been set up. Herdsmen in outlying grasslands can now watch TV and "make direct dial international phone calls". Gonggar airport expansion is completed. Another airport is being built. Herdsmen now have durable consumer goods, even cellular phones (SWB 14 March).

Prices

18 Nov: Lhasa television reported that controls on lumber prices have been removed. (SWB W 15 Dec.)

30 Dec. 1993: Qinghai provincial government issued an urgent circular on controlling grain and oil prices and stabilising markets, Xining radio reported. From 31 December, state-owned shops should attach price tags to the grain and oil they sell. Prices of these commodities should be based on Xining grain and oil prices, and these prices should be reported to the provincial price bureau. "Grain departments should...ensure market supplies...take the lead in controlling prices and should not refuse to sell...Grain and oil should be supplied to universities and colleges at wholesale prices, and this supply should be ensured". (SWB 12 Jan)

23 Jan: Qinghai: "Excessive price rises" after July were blamed for price increases of over 12 % in 1993 over

1992 at a provincial meeting in Xining, Xining radio reported. (SWB W 9 Feb)

Agriculture

Nov. 1993: A new report warns that Tibet must accelerate economic growth or other provinces will take over its market. An advisory document prepared by TAR science, planting and farm science promotion associations argues for the development of a "high-yield, excellent quality and highly efficient agriculture to push farming and animal husbandry into market competition". Tibet, the report says, has "no choice but to opt for this" (SWB 22 Nov.).

21 Oct 1993: Xigaze's [Shigatse] economy is growing every year, Xinhua claimed. In 1992 grain and edible oil reached 270 m kg, a new high. The 1993 output is expected to be higher. Head of cattle hit more than 6.8 m in 1992. The prefecture has around 6,000 rural enterprises, with over 10,000 employees. Output in the January-June period of 1993 was worth yuan 22.3 m, up 30.6 percent over the same in 1992. (SWB 22 Nov.).

14 November 1993: Animals in stock in the TAR are increasing, Xinhua reported. Over 5.7 m young were born in January-June, with a survival rate of 80 percent, while an increasing number of sheds and other facilities have been built (SWB W - 24 Nov.).

27 Nov: The TAR recently claimed its sixth consecutive year of good grain harvests, producing 625,000 tonnes on 5.6% less acreage, Xinhua reported. Major producing areas included the valleys of the Yarlung Zangbo, Lhasa and Nyang rivers where per hectare output often exceeded 7.5 tonnes. (SWB W 8 Dec)

8 Dec: Qinghai's total 1993 grain output is expected to reach nearly 1.2 m tons, slightly higher than 1992. (SWB W 22 Dec.)

15 Dec. 1993: Qinghai province harvested 118,600 tonnes of grain and 150,000 tonnes of oil-bearing crops in 1993, Xinhua reported (SWB W 5 Jan)

23 Dec. 1993: Xining radio reported that agriculture in Qinghai in 1993 had a good harvest for the seventh year running and local revenue was expected to reach yuan 1.1 bn. (SWB 12 Jan)

27 Dec. 1993: Qinghai Provincial governor **Tian Chengping** said work should focus on increasing peasants' incomes, Xining radio reported. Acreage of grain crops should be expanded and township enterprises developed. (SWB 11 Jan)

16 Jan: TAR Chairman **Gyaincain Norbu** gives figures in his report to the regional economic work conference: the gross value of agricultural output was 2.23 bn yuan, a 5.3% increase over the previous year, and town and village enterprise output value was 1m yuan, a 14.9% increase over 1993 (SWB 31 Jan.)

19 Jan: China News Service reported that TAR's 1993 investment in agriculture totalled yuan 99.8m and grain output amounted to 620,000 tonnes (SWB W 2 Feb.).

1 Feb: **Yang Song**, vice-chairman of the TAR government, said that the TAR total agricultural output

was yuan 2.2 bn (5.3% up on 1992). Per capita income for peasants and herders was yuan 515 (5.1% up on 1992) (SWB 18 Feb.).

6 Feb: **Danzim [Tenzin]**, deputy secretary of the TAR party committee, gave the following figures for economic growth in 1993, according to Lhasa radio:

- TAR gross agricultural output: yuan 2.28 (up 5.3% on 1992)
- grain output: 620,000 tonnes (3.3% up on 1992)
- per capita income of peasants and herders: yuan 515
- animal husbandry: reached main 1992 targets
- peasants' and herders' income: yuan 515 (up 5.1% on 1992) (SWB 18 Feb)

12 Feb: Lhasa Radio announces:

- Total output of grain and oilbearing crops: 620m kg
- rise over 1992: 3.3%
- Total agric. output value: yuan 2.22bn
- rise over 1992: 5.3%
- Total output of town and village enterprises: yuan 340m
- rise over 1992: 14.9% (SWB 7 March).

12 March: Deputies from the TAR to the NPC in Beijing said that the 1993 grain harvest amounted to 620,000 tons, and the output value of rural enterprises was yuan 100 m., a rise over 1992 of 14.9%. The per capita income of farmers and herdsmen, which was yuan 515 in 1993, had risen over 1992 by yuan 30.

17 Mar: **Raidi [Rakti]**, a TAR Party Deputy Secretary and a delegate at the NPC in Beijing, said that the per capita income of peasants and herdsmen in the TAR was yuan 521 (SWB 19 March).

Forestry

3 March: Tibet has more than 2 bn sq.m. of timber forests, 9.8% of the area, or 7,17m ha., according to a survey made by 180 experts from the Ministry of Forestry and the Forestry Department of Tibet, Xinhua reported. Most of the timber is virgin forest. (SWB W 9 March)

Industry

18 Nov: In January-September the gross value of industrial output was yuan 350 m, up 9.4% over the same period in 1992 (SWB W 15 Dec.).

16 Jan: TAR Chairman **Gyaincain Norbu** gave figures for the 1993 Gross value of industrial output:

- primary: 1.77 bn yuan, 4.9% over 1992
- secondary: 0.53 bn yuan, 16.6% over 1992
- tertiary: 1.35 bn yuan, 9.5% over 1992 (SWB 31 Jan, 7 March)

19 Jan: 1993 TAR total industrial output value was to be yuan 470 m, 7.8% up. (SWB W 2 Feb.).

18 Jan: Industrial enterprises at township level and above produced total industrial output value of over yuan 7 bn, 13.4% up on 1992. Industrial enterprises covered by the budget made yuan 3.35 bn, 15.8% up on 1992, Xining radio reported. Sales rose to yuan 4.6 bn, 55% up, and profits and taxes were up by 24.47%. Planning controls were taken off 53% of products, 16 enterprises were selected to contract for investment and 25 to experiment with shareholding. Heavy industry

output was "sustained and healthy" and light industry made a "turn for the better". (SWB W 9 Feb)

27 Jan: Strontium amounting to over 18 tons, near the surface and easy to extract, has been discovered in the Qaidam basin. The province has set up a national strontium salt production association to co-ordinate work on strontium. Geologists have discovered a 1100 sq. km lake containing strontium. (SWB W 9 Feb)

1 Feb: **Yang Song**, vice-chairman of the TAR government, gives the total industrial output as yuan 470 m (up 7.8% on 1992) (SWB 18 Feb).

12 Feb: Lhasa radio announced the that total industrial output value of the TAR in 1993 was yuan 470m, a rise over 1992 of 7.8% (SWB 7 March)

12 March: Deputies from the TAR to the NPC said in 1993 growth rates in the TAR were lower than national averages, but still a "great step forward". Tibet now is home to a dozen industries and 100 product lines, the deputies said (SWB 14 March).

Other Indicators

16 Jan: In his report at the regional economic work conference, TAR Chairman **Gyaincain Norbu** declared that economic indicators were up and markets were brisk, giving these figures for the TAR's economic performance in 1993:

- GDP: 3.65 bn yuan 8.1% over 1992
- Revenue: 15 m. yuan 37% over 1992
- Investment in fixed assets: 1.59 bn yuan 15% over 1992
- Income of diversified economic undertakings: 24 m. yuan 18.8% over 1992 (SWB 31 Jan).

23 Dec. In 1993 Qinghai's GNP was expected to top yuan 10 bn and the growth rate to surpass 9%, Xining radio reported.

19 Jan: 1993 GNP of TAR was expected to be yuan 3.65 bn, 8.1% up on previous year, China News Service reported. Investment in fixed assets was expected to be yuan 1.59 bn, up 15%. Residents' savings reached yuan 904 m, up 29.4%. (SWB W 2 Feb.).

1 Feb: **Yang Song**, vice-chairman of the TAR government, praised the economy and declared that Tibet would greet its 30th anniversary with economic successes. Amongst the figures he gave were:

- Investment in fixed assets: yuan 1.59 bn (up 15% on 1992)
- Recovery of loans: yuan 200 m.
- Loans cancelled: yuan 2.5 m.
- Unwarranted fines and levies abolished: all
- Illegal transactions uncovered: yuan 17.8 m. worth
- Massive outflows of capital: stopped
- GNP: yuan 3.65 bn (8.1% up on 1992)
- Revenues: yuan 149 m (up 37% on 1992) (SWB 18 Feb).

8 Feb: Tibetan leader **Gyaincain Norbu** said that the total output value of goods and services was yuan 3.65 bn, 8.1% over 1992, and the investment in fixed

assets was yuan 1.59 bn, 15% over 1992 (SWB 7 March).

12 Feb: Lhasa radio said that in 1993 the amount of inter-bank loans recovered was yuan 220 m, TAR revenue was yuan 140 m, a rise over 1992 of 37% (SWB 7 March).

Western Travellers on New Shops

A selection of observations by western travellers in Tibet on commercial and retail activity.

"Someone made an inventory of the shops which were built this season [summer 1993] in **Lhasa**, but outside the **Barkor** area. Only about 10 of the new shops were Tibetan style buildings. All the rest were in Chinese concrete style. One person who worked in the administration said that most new shops will be owned by Chinese. These are both economic settlers and families from military people. As the shop is only a secondary source of income they do not rely heavily on it. To arrange any matter (not only shops) you have to have *guanxi* [backdoor connections], but Tibetans often lack connections of this kind amongst officials who are high enough to have any influence in a decision.

"According to this person the shopkeepers are regularly plagued by officials who impose all kinds of new regulations. At the beginning of May [1993] they were ordered to buy and put on the wall a poster explaining the marriage of **Srongtsen Gampo** with **Wengcheng** (costs 8 yuan). Prices for a shop on **Beijing Lu** [**Dekyi Lam**] are rent: 600 yuan per month, tax: 200 yuan per month, no contacts needed to begin shop, amount of money needed to start unknown. A shop on the road that runs from **Beijing Lu** to the **Jokhang Plaza**: I am not sure how many yuan, but, to begin new shop much *guanxi* is needed and it is hardly possible.

"One local friend said the boom in shop building is a real danger for the Lhasa economy. Already now the shopkeepers can hardly make enough money to survive. Already there are too many shops and most of the new shops sell the same goods anyway. For most of the Chinese shops the income only supplements the income from the spouse in the army. Only very recently this has changed and more "economic immigration" of people not related to the army has occurred."

"An old man approached me in the **Barkor** and said that "the Chinese are tearing Tibetan apartments down and building shops instead".

The New Shopping Arcades: the **Tromzikang**

"The **Tromzikang** (**Khrom-gzi-khang**) is a big, indoor, two-storey market hall (with billiard rooms and restaurants on the 3rd floor) where the old Tibetan open-air market used to be, 20 metres off **Dekyi Shar Lam** Street and close to the **Barkor**. The ugly but functional concrete building was finished in October 1991. There are no separate shops but long rows of counters behind which each salesperson is responsible for a certain section of the exhibited goods.

"Most of the 850 or so salespersons in the **Tromzikang** are Chinese (with a large proportion of Chinese Muslims from **Gansu** and **Xining**) who have come to Lhasa

recently. On the ground floor I counted 66 persons selling butter. They were nearly all Tibetan women. On a Sunday about 20 were selling meat, 26 Chinese sold spices, about 10 sold spaghetti, about 80 Chinese and Tibetans sold vegetables, and 23 (mostly Chinese) sold various goods and foods. In the grocery section about 150 salespersons were nearly all Chinese and most seemed to be Chinese Muslims. On second floor about 200 (nearly all Chinese) sold only clothes. Nearly 50 sold shoes, 50 sold cigarettes and 170 sold various goods (kitchen utensils, electronics, plastic and metal things, and some clothes and shoes. Relatives and friends of the Chinese salespersons were hanging around them in great numbers, which made it difficult to know who was working there or not. Lots of Chinese soldiers hang around, seemingly to keep their working wives company.

"Many people were selling the same things, and while the grocery section was busy, most of the salespersons in the other sections look bored and sleep, talk, knit, play computer games, watch videos or just stare into the air.

"I'm told they are paid on a daily basis and often try to supplement their incomes by asking higher prices for goods. Most of them are recently arrived Chinese: there is a high unemployment among young Tibetans in Lhasa."

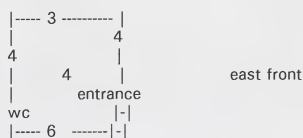
"There is a big new 3 storey building at the site of the former market between the Jokhang and **Dekyi Shar Lam**; I think it is called the **Tromzikang**. On the ground floor food products and a mixture of goods are sold. On this floor I counted 66 people (mainly Tibetan women) selling butter, 26 Chinese selling spices and beans, about 80 women selling vegetables, 20 meat sellers, some spaghetti sellers, 23 selling various goods, and a few more. On the first floor there were about 200 male as well as female young Chinese - many Muslims - selling clothes. 47 sell shoes, 50 sell cigarettes, and about 170 - among these many are Tibetans - sell various goods. All together about 700 are employed to sell things and food here. They are on daily wages. Most looked utterly bored, many were sleeping, and most of the others spend their time chatting, knitting, watching videos or playing games. Around the centre several others are selling kitchen equipment, fruits or food. The centre seems to be open 7 days a week."

The Surkhang, March 1994

"On the site of the **Surkhang** house they have now finished the new shopping arcade. I think it is different from the **Tromsikang** - perhaps this is owned by private business or designed to be rented by private businesses. It took nine months to build and opened in February [1994] and six weeks later when I was there it was 80% empty. On the ground floor there are 21 lots, of which 11 were in use, all of them Tibetan or Hui, as far as I could see. On the first floor there are 30 lots, of which 3 were in use, and on the 2nd floor there are 30 lots, which were all empty. So in total at the end of March there 81 lots of which 14 in use.

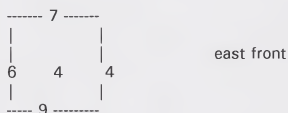
"On the ground floor the only shops that seemed to be doing business are those which have fronts on the Barkhor. There are two other shops inside. Of the shops

with street fronts on the east side three shops were open and one was closed. Two of these are probably Tibetan, and one has a picture of the Dalai Lama. On the south side they had 6 shops of which five were open. Of these one was Muslim and probably four were Tibetan.



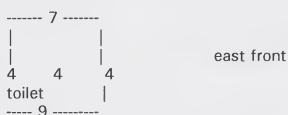
"On the right as you walk in through the main door there were two open shops not with street fronts, of which one is a Tibetan shop with a Dalai Lama picture, one perhaps Tibetan. In the middle of the ground floor in a centre block were an additional four, all empty. Besides the shops there is one other room: the toilet. The toilet is the busiest room in the building.

1st Floor



"On first floor there were 30 shops, of which 9 are on the south side, 7 on the north, 6 on the west side, 4 in the middle and 4 on the east side. Three are open and one seems planning to open. The two I saw were both run by Tibetans, one with a Dalai Lama picture and one without.

Second floor



"On second floor the layout is the same as in the first floor: 30 shops. Nothing is open, all glass and marble floor, kids skating and screaming. Very clean."

Shopping: Videos, Cameras, Electric Batons

"You can buy most things in Lhasa now. Madonna videos are on show, you can get camping gear in the Barkor. In smaller places there was very little for sale. It was not so very much different from a Chinese town, once you were out of the Tibetan quarter. As a foreigner you don't see the surveillance, such as it might be. You see the picturesque Tibetan hotel you are staying in."

"By now it's easier to list what you can't get in Lhasa than what you can get. Some of the things you couldn't buy in 1988 but are available now are: computers (several brands); fax machines (cost 13,600, yuan); Minolta automatic cameras (5,000 - 10,000 yuan); small automatic cameras; small short wave radios

(several different ones, 95-160 yuan); a vast selection of telephones, also with the standard 4-poled plugs; wireless portable telephones ("China's Tibet" reports that 10,000 have been sold in Lhasa); mountain-bike style children's bikes - the new fashion in Lhasa - costing around 1,000 yuan; slide films (80 yuan); down sleeping bags (but sold out), a vast range of expensive clothes, and so on. Also TV's, video recorders, refrigerators, washing machines, etc.

"There are new department stores shooting up everywhere. Also in certain areas there are many small, expensive fashion shops, all run by Chinese, of course. One area is between the Holiday Inn and the Golden Yaks statue (**Dekyi Nub Lam**), another is east of Potala (**Dekyi Shar Lam**/PLA North Street).

"On the street from the main post office to **Tsanggyu Shar Lam** there are several shops selling TV's, computers, photo equipment (Nikon, Canon, etc.), photo copy machines (13,000 yuan), video cameras, and the like.

"In one shop with motor bikes, video cameras and photographic equipment they also have a selection of electric cattle prods! 5 different short ones (18 cm. long, in different colours (to suit the uniform?)) and one long black one (30 cm). They all have two prods [electrodes] at the end. They have no brand names or symbols and no prices. I didn't dare to ask how much they were."

Street vendors

"Street sellers have disappeared from many parts of town. On the pavements from the Tibetan part of town to the Potala (**Dekyi Shar Lam**) which were packed with street vendors in 1988, now there is only an occasional cobbler or bicycle repairman. There are shops instead, all the way along. Street vendors are found in large numbers only in front of Jokhang, on the Tibetan part of **Sera Lam**, and parts of the streets connecting **Dekyi Shar Lam** with **Tsanggyu Shar Lam**."

Shigatse

"If you come out of the Mani hotel and turn to the right there are shops for about half a kilometre. I counted them, with a friend who told me who owned which. There were 76 Chinese owned shops, 9 Government shops and 3 Tibetans ones. In addition there were 20 shops that were not yet completed [June 1993]. I would assume that most of these will become Chinese because where they are located. Two of the 3 Tibetan shops were teashops and one was an all-night tobacco/beer stall. I was told that 20 of the 76 Chinese shops are brothels. I saw 2 girls who looked Chinese at a table playing cards outside one, but this sounds exaggerated.

"If you turn left round a corner into the prestige area away from the **Tashilunpo**, there is another street of shops. I walked up about 200 metres and counted the shops, with my friend; there were 28 Chinese-owned shops, 6 government shops, and 3 Tibetan ones. In the Tibetan quarter the shops are Tibetan - but all along the street leading out from the Tibetan quarter, outside the Tibetan shops there are Chinese street vendors sitting on the pavement."

Chinese Media on Shops and Commerce

A summary of Chinese media reports on commerce and private trade, selected from the BBC Summary of World Broadcasts (SWB).

18 Nov: Tibet has stepped up the reform of the economic structure and the pace of transition to a market economy, Lhasa television reported. More markets, 42,000 more industrial and commercial households, and 54 more private enterprises were set up in the January-September period. Retail sales rose by 8.6% over the same months last year to yuan 1.2 bn. (SWB W 15 Dec.)

13 Jan: Some regulations of the TAR government on accelerating the privately owned economy were adopted on 27 November and published in the *Tibet Daily* on 13 January. There are 29 regulations, and a brief summary follows:

- 1. Anyone retired, graduated or made redundant from government, party or military, can apply for permission to engage in private or individual business.
- 2. The time period spent in private enterprise can be added to length of service in former units.
- 3. Retired and similar scientific personnel can set up businesses. Personnel still working can be involved in new product development and private household enterprise.
- 4. Applicants must apply to local industrial and commercial administrations.
- 5. Funds shall be approved in accordance with amount set on application forms.
- 6. County level administrations can authorise lower levels to issue temporary business licences in poor and remote areas.
- 7. Business scope shall be further relaxed.
- 8. With approval, private schools, kindergartens, hospitals and clinics and small mineral enterprises may be set up.
- 9. Transport businesses may be set up.
- 10. Individual enterprises may be helped to set up joint ventures with foreigners.
- 11. Peasants and herders in poor and remote areas may start business and complete formalities later. There should be provision for preferential tax treatment.
- 12. Private enterprise that employs the handicapped should get tax concessions.
- 13. Enterprises working on new products should get tax concessions.
- 14. Administrative departments should provide advice on law etc.
- 15. Lawful rights of individual and private economic sectors should be protected by law.
- 16. Except for industry and commerce administration, no one should be allowed to revoke business licences.
- 17. Land used should be incorporated into urban plans.
- 18. Officials of state administration must not violate the rights and interests of private businesses.
- 19. No unit shall be allowed to reject the official vouchers offered as receipts.
- 20. Schools should be allowed to accept children from private-enterprise type households.
- 21. Qualified persons may join the communist party and other organisations and have the same chance of preferment as persons in state organisations.
- 22. Government should "strengthen leadership" over associations of self-employed workers.

- 23. Banking institutions should provide good service.
- 24. Industry and commerce departments should assist by helping with loans, business venues, product appraisal and export, technical personnel and overseas commercial activities.
- 25. Industry and commerce departments should educate in the law and professional ethics.
- 26. Private businesses must abide by laws and policy.
- 27. Those who spread reactionary or pornographic material shall be fined.
- 28. The TAR industry and commerce administration is authorised to interpret these rules.
- 29. These rules enter into force on promulgation. (SWB 5 Feb)

19 Jan: China News Service reported that TAR's 1993 retail retail sales were yuan 1.9 m, 13.1% up (SWB W 2 Feb.).

31 Jan: The TAR government has stepped up control over markets and built many more permanent market sites, the *Tibet Daily* reported. Last year 23 new markets were built, which "have, to a certain extent, improved the appearance of narrow streets crowded with open-air stalls and pedlars". Transactions in trade fairs last year totalled more than yuan 900m, nearly 22% up on 1992. Also, markets have diversified into capital goods (SWB 15 Feb).

4 Feb: Tibet's private economy is surging ahead, the *Tibet Daily* reported. There were by end-1993 41,830 private businesses, employing 65,579 people. Registered capital exceeds yuan 170 m. Sales volume in the TAR topped yuan 900 m. This is in contrast to the 1980 figure of 489 businesses employing 501 people.

-By end-1993, there were 99 markets, of which 23 were built in 1993 at a cost of yuan 11.6 m. Procedures for obtaining business licences have been simplified. In Lhasa alone private businesses increased by 56%.

Though numbers of businesses did not increase much in 1993, employees rose by 20,000. Net volume of registered capital increased by over yuan 70m, and total volume of trading in the region went up by 21.6%.

Chongsaikang [Tromzikang] market in Lhasa, which accommodates 1,400 individual businesses, handled a volume of trade last year worth yuan 340 m. It deals in more than 15,000 types of commodities.

However, the growth rate is still not as fast as in other provinces and regions. (SWB 2 March)

19 Jan: China News Service said that township enterprises had total output value of yuan 100 m and per capita income earned by farmers was yuan 515, 5.1% up on previous year. (SWB W 2 Feb.).

3 Feb: In 1993 2,500 new private business operators and over 40 private enterprises with registered capital of more than yuan 13m were set up in Tibet, according to Lhasa radio. These were 2.2 and 2.3 times the 1992 figures. Development of private business used to be quite slow because of excessive controls, the radio added. Now procedures have been simplified and

anyone can apply for an operating licence as long as he has an ID card and letter of recommendation from relevant authorities.

The scope of operations has also been broadened. Local independent operators as well as those from other parts of the country are allowed to engage in wholesale or retail trading of whatever commodities have been decontrolled. Surplus personnel from government and enterprises may take up this work, peasants and herders are allowed to trade their products without paying management charges or business taxes. Local and non-local independent operators are encouraged to provide long-distance transport. Last year private business paid more than yuan 20,000 in taxes. (SWB 16 Feb)

6 Feb: In 1993, the number of "self-employed" households reached 41,800. Their employees totalled 65,600 and registered capital was yuan 174m, up by 74% and 72% over the previous year respectively, Xinhua reported. Last year there were more than 9,000 rural enterprises with 51,000 employees and output value of "about yuan 100m". (SWB W 16 Feb)

12 Feb: Tibet's economy is moving "into the orbit of sound circulation", Lhasa radio said. The number of individual and private businesses is 41,000, the capital thereof is yuan 200 m.; the taxes paid by these businesses is 40%. Total retail sales are yuan 1.9 bn, a rise over 1992 of 13.1% (SWB 7 Mar.).

Western Travellers on Construction in Lhasa

A selection of observations by western travellers in Tibet.

"There's been a lot of construction, and a big "clean-up" campaign in the old city in the last 6 months [of 1993]. In the north east corner of the **Barkor**, there are new buildings with an attempt at Tibetan lintels. To the Chinese this is progress. I don't know how Tibetans felt about this."

"Many Tibetans are appalled at the rate and quality of change in Lhasa, where the supermarket and the *karaoke* bar are replacing the cattle-prod and walkie-talkie as a symbol of repression in the city. That's just the old city - beyond the palace one now finds strings of luxury storefronts and night clubs and the broad avenues humming with **Guangzhou** foreign venture saloon cars. Going there after dark you might just as well be in the suburbs of **Chengdu**."

"Amid the construction frenzy in the Barkor two new temples of remarkable calibre have appeared. The **Jampa Lhakang** (on the north side of the **Barkor**) has been restored by monks and lama of the **Lo gonpa** in **Phenpo**, of the **Kadampa** school, and **Rabsel Tsenkhang** (on the south east corner of the **Barkor**) has been restored by some monks from Sera."

"There is construction going on everywhere in Lhasa. Work was even going on in the night-time in some places, eg. in the compound of the municipal government on **Dekyi Shar Lam**. It all seems to be offices, shops, department stores, and banks. Where street vendors were on the pavements 5 years ago there are now shops in long rows of garage-like

concrete buildings. These line all the major streets in Lhasa and mostly house Chinese shopkeepers.

Construction in the Barkor

"There's a new building which will have shops on the ground floor and apartments for Tibetans on 1st and 2nd floors. There are other Tibetan style constructions: I can't tell the difference between the traditional Tibetan houses and these new buildings. One of them belonged to **Surkhang** before '59. There's going to be a new shopping centre, but nobody knows what will be sold there. Someone said that the 2 lowest storeys will be shops while the top floor will be "demo desa", i.e. have restaurants, bars and billiard saloons. There's another building finished with Tibetan style decorations."

Shol: "In Shol below the Potala some larger buildings are being renovated, and the residents are being moved to accommodation behind the **Potala**. "They don't want to move," a bus driver told me. "It's the foot of the Potala, its a sacred place.""

"In the 7th issue of the Chinese tourist publication **Potala**, it says 400 families have already moved from Shol to new houses behind Potala, because they're turning Shol into a park. Shol people said that 200 new houses have been built by now. One of them said that it was a good idea while another said it was bad. They didn't seem willing to talk about this, though. They said some Shol inhabitants would move but others stay. Some of the big old historical buildings are being restored."

"On March 24th 1994 the newspaper *China Daily* announced that construction of the "new Potala Palace square" was about to begin. This must mean the area that was the village of Shol."

Lhasa 'Clean Up'

"The **Barkor** is now routinely policed by *Bao'an* (they are the "safety police" [commercial police], wearing blue uniforms, all Tibetan) who are there to move on beggars and prevent street traders from setting up pavement stalls (i.e. tables for which they have not paid rent) before 7pm. They also have to regulate traffic (such as vehicles involved in construction) and generally remind everyone that the Barkor has been replaced by a hybrid of police station, shopping mall and construction site."

"You should see the new red and white striped bicycle lane dividers on **Dekyi Shar Lam**. Some of the propaganda billboards have been replaced with more commercial material (a nude bathing woman advertising the new **Chakpori** sauna complex) or more abstract designs (a cubist image of Mount Qomolangma outside the Lhasa Holiday Inn). Slum dwellings around the open garbage tip across the Lhasa bridge have been cleared; there are new style dual-language overhead street signs; and new-style propaganda boards and banners, talking about *gong'phel* and *dpal'byor* ("development", which has the connotation of increased wealth in Tibetan) and so on."

"The policy makers in Lhasa seem to want to bring the city up to the standard of municipal China. Perhaps they also want to surround Tibetans with concrete,

electricity and shoddy consumer goods in hitherto unknown quantities."

Entertainment

"Entertainment is big in Lhasa with the large numbers of visitors, unemployed Tibetans, and Chinese army personnel. Nearly all the Tibetan, Muslim and Chinese restaurants show videos constantly, with Tibetans glued to the screens showing war, violence and disaster. At night a large number of *karaoke*s take over: combined restaurants, bars and nightclubs. They are all over town but especially south of the government compound, where a large number of PLA's need entertainment. There are loads of billiard tables and halls in Lhasa now, and on **Dekyi Shar Lam** there are at least a dozen slot machine and video game halls."

Beggars

"Very few beggars sit on the Barkor now, and no monks. But around the Market Centre (Tromzikang), in the alleys leading to Barkor and in front of Jokhang and on **Dekyi Shar Lam** I saw beggars. Most are temporary: monks - many from **Kandze** [in Kham]. But I saw a number of small children (about 5-10 years old) living in the streets."

EDUCATION

Tibetan School Closed, Director Arrested

TIN News Update/19 April, 1994

The largest non-government school in Lhasa has been closed down and the director arrested on suspicion of involvement in "counter-revolutionary activities", according to unofficial reports from the Tibetan capital.

The school's director, a Tibetan lama who is known only by his honorary title of "**Shabdrung Rimpoché**", was detained in late February and was still in custody a month later. Initially the arrest was thought to be connected to alleged financial improprieties, but Tibetan sources in Lhasa now say that some of the charges against the lama are political.

The school was officially closed down in the last week of February because of debts, with the 400 students being told not to return after the New Year holiday.

The school, which had no government funding, had been in financial difficulties for at least five months and some creditors had demanded repayment of their loans last October. "Having no proper funding from the government, it's not surprising that the school was in debt", one Tibetan in Lhasa told TIN, an independent news and monitoring organisation.

But reports now say that **Shabdrung** [Tibetan: *zhabs-drung*] **Rimpoché** is also being accused of "holding wrong views", said one source. Police suspect that the lama, whose title suggests that he held a position in the pre-invasion Tibetan Government, approached either the Dalai Lama or the Tibetan Government in exile, based in Northern India, for financial assistance in order to save the school, an act which could be regarded as counter-revolutionary, a charge in Chinese law equivalent to treason.

One source in Lhasa claimed that the school had been closed by the security forces and that a number of students had been questioned by police.

The school, the *Sil-jong Ke-yig* school or "Cool-lands Language School", started as an adult evening institute in the north-east of Lhasa for Tibetans who wanted to study English, but expanded into an education centre offering classes in Tibetan language, Chinese, astrology, secretarial work, typing and other subjects to over 400 students.

"The feature of this school was that it had been set up specially for those students who failed the final middle [secondary] school exams or for those who hadn't received formal education," said a source in Lhasa, who asked not to be named.

Tibet University: 1993 Admissions 55% Chinese

The closure of the school has become a sensitive issue for Tibetans who consider that Tibetan language and culture is losing out to Chinese culture. Chinese language is required for most jobs and university courses, and last year only 45% of students admitted to the University of Tibet were Tibetan, although only 3% of the population of region is Chinese, according to Chinese figures. Despite marking adjustments which favour Tibetan students, only three Tibetans were among the top 139 students in Lhasa who scored over 350 marks in the 1993 entrance exams, a failure that Tibetans attribute to low government investment in education in Tibet.

Several sources in Lhasa contacted TIN, an independent news and monitoring organisation based in London, about the closure of the Cool-lands School and called for help or investment from abroad to re-start it, citing fears that Tibetan language is disappearing. "Although aware of the dangers, one is tempted to abandon one's own language to reach out towards the Chinese language. Basically, it is going to lead towards eradicating our own language," one Tibetan told TIN, commenting on the school closure. "Like the disappearance of the Manchu people, we would also be reduced to a rare species, lost under heaps of Chinese, so that eventually people would say, 'Look, there's a Tibetan - look, there's another,' he said.

The Tibetan, speaking on condition of anonymity, saw the lack of support for the Cool-lands School as symptomatic of wider policy. "Signs of Tibetans' existence are slowly pushed into obscurity," he said. "The Tibetans feel that communism isn't good for Tibetan culture and language; the Chinese made no effort to support this school."

"Our culture and our nationality are in great danger and we feel it urgent to shout against the Chinese government, not with anger for them, but for the loss of school and the future of the students," said another Tibetan from Lhasa. "But sadly, under this policy to do so would mean being labelled a separatist, and we would be arrested," he added.

"I would like to request people outside to help us, to tell China to justify what it has done and to re-open the school," said the Tibetan, who did not give his name.

This is not the first non-government school in Lhasa to have been closed down by the authorities. Exactly a year ago the Lukhang school for children, north of the Potala, was closed down, although in that case the 35 pupils were re-allocated to a nearby state Primary school. In 1992 the school's director, 72 year old **Jampa Gyaltsen**, a widely respected scholar and Tibetanist, had refused a group of Chinese journalists permission to enter the school, an act which had led in October 1992 to police investigating his political reliability. The police report was discussed at a local Government meeting in November 1992, after which permission was reportedly sought from Beijing to take punitive action against the scholar, whose patrons had included **Ngawang Ngapo Jigme**, a senior Beijing official. Jampa Gyaltsen died from a heart attack on 10th March 1993, a few days after the closure.

There have been several isolated incidents of political unrest in schools in Tibet since 1987, including a pro-independence protest in a school in Nyemo in January 1993 and a demonstration protesting against poor conditions by 100 students at Lhokha Middle School No.1 in the town of Tsethang in June 1993. Discontent was exacerbated by the China-wide introduction of school fees from the beginning of 1993.

Tibet University Admissions, 1993: Details

Chinese students admitted to Tibet University in 1993 outnumber Tibetans, with 11 Chinese admitted for every nine Tibetans, according to a detailed report received from Lhasa. The report quoted the head official dealing with applications to the University as saying that 55% of applications received in 1992 for admission in 1993 were from ethnic Chinese and 45% were from Tibetans. The passmark is adjusted each year so that admissions of each nationality are in the same proportion as applications.

In 1992, out of 1,699 who applied for admission to the University, 918 were Chinese or non-Tibetan, and 781 were Tibetan. Overall, 312 (18%) of these applicants were given places at the University, 173 of whom (55%) were Chinese, while 139 (45%) were Tibetan.

The information was revealed in a statement on 5th Oct 1992 by **Liu**, a Chinese official who is *zhuren* [tutor] or Leader of the "Tibet Autonomous Region University Students Collection [of Examination Results] Office". Liu also gave details explaining how his Office had set the passmarks, so as to ensure that the same proportion of Tibetans passed the exam as applied. Since the Tibetans scored much lower marks than the Chinese, this meant that the Office set the passmarks for the Tibetans at a much lower level.

The figures given by Liu, according to the report received by TIN [TIN ref: 21(YV)], were divided into Science students and Arts students. 749 people applied for Science and Technology subjects, and 950 people applied to study Arts. 60% of the places awarded were given to the 40% of the applicants who sat science examinations, so that arts students were twice as likely to fail the exam. The pass mark for the University entrance exam was set at 240 for Arts students and at 230 for Science and Technology applicants; the

passmark for Chinese applicants may have been much higher. Liu's figures for the examination results indicate that only three Tibetans were among the 176 applicants who scored over 350 marks.

Liu gave these figures for the numbers of students who scored above 350 marks in the entrance examinations:

| Science and Technology | |
|------------------------|-----------|
| Highest mark 540: | 1 person |
| Above 450: | 10 people |
| From 400 to 450: | 37 people |
| From 350 to 399: | 87 people |
| | total 135 |
| Arts | |
| Highest mark 430: | 1 person |
| Above 400: | 12 people |
| From 350 to 399: | 28 people |
| | total 41 |

He gave separate figures for the highest marks achieved by Tibetan students:

| Science and Technology | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------|
| From 380 [error for 350?] to 399: | 1 person |
| From 230 [to 350?]: | 45 people |
| | total 46 |
| Arts | |
| From 400 to 409: | 1 person |
| From 350 to 399: | 1 person |
| From 240 to 350: | 91 people |
| | total 93 |

The low scores of the Tibetans are generally attributed by Tibetans to lack of educational facilities in Tibet. Chinese language is required for the examinations but disadvantages for Tibetans in studying Chinese are compensated for in the distribution of marks for this exam, which are averaged with marks from the Tibetan language examination. The high proportion of Chinese applicants for Tibet University contrasts with the official figures for the Chinese population of the Tibet Autonomous Region, which is just over 3%.

The issue is causing concern in political circles in Lhasa, according to an internal document which suggests that large numbers of Chinese students who have failed to gain entry to other universities in China are applying in Tibet, where competition is less stiff. The document, a minute of a meeting of the Lhasa branch of the "Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference", part of whose task is to pass on popular concerns to the Communist Party, lists this issue as one of the "problems that the people have serious complaints about."

"We have heard that 2,000 Chinese students came to Lhasa and by dubious means they have taken the higher level school exams. In this way they have enjoyed the priority which should have been given to Tibetan students. Many young Tibetans who should have been taking these exams have now been pushed aside by the Han whose number is increasing. The education of our own nationality and our future intellectuals has been

badly affected by this," noted the Conference in a confidential "bulletin" issued on 15th July 1993.

Chinese Media on Education

A summary of official Chinese media coverage of education issues in Tibet, as monitored by the BBC's Summary of World Broadcasts. Dates in headings are those when the event took place or was first reported.

4 Nov.: Hunan province has set up 405 primary boarding schools for the 50 ethnic minorities in the province, according to Xinhua on 4 November. Minorities total over 5.1m people and include Tujia, Miao, Dong, Yao, Bai, Hui, Zhuang and Uyghur. This schools policy began in 1990 and currently 160,000 pupils are enrolled (SWB 10 Nov.)

11 Oct.: The *Tibet Daily* called on 11 October for a campaign in schools to oppose splittism. The Dalai Lama clique and its supporters are infiltrating Tibet and winning over youth, it said, and urged schools to draw up programmes and inspections to counter this. Education in Marxism, socialism and patriotism should be strengthened (SWB 13 Nov. 93).

16 Dec: The TAR was to introduce compulsory education, starting 1994, according to Xinhua. Ten counties would pioneer the move. Eventually every child over six should have access to education, but because of the terrain this access might be postponed till children are 9 years old. Length of compulsory education was to be four years in pastoral, six in agricultural and nine in urban areas. The education bill laid down guidelines for collecting funds. (SWB 21 Dec.)

12 Jan: A scheme to help school dropouts in Tibet has been a success, Xinhua reported. According to the Tibet Youth Development Foundation, "Project hope", which tries to draw dropouts back into education, last year raised yuan 600,000 from government and people which helped to fund eight schools now accommodating over 1,000 children. Because of the huge distances, new schools are needed and Xinhua claimed that by 1995, 22 (new?) primary schools will have been set up. (SWB 17 Jan)

25 Feb: Qinghai is giving preference to minorities in its education policy, Xinhua reported. Forty-two percent of the population are Tibetan, Hui, Tu, Salar and Mongolian, and 250,000 pupils of these nationalities (85% of the potential) are enrolled in 1,598 schools. But this is not enough, especially when compared with China's developed areas. Priority is being given to six key senior middle schools, 30 key junior middle schools and 191 primary schools. Preferential treatment in funds, facilities and training teachers will be granted. Preference will be given also to students to help them into college education, especially teacher training. (SWB 1 March)

1 March: Grants for students from Tibet studying in other parts of China are being raised by nearly 49%. Xinhua reported on 2 March. The TAR has allocated yuan 17.35 million for this. The yearly grant will rise from yuan 706 to yuan 1050. Fourth-form students and up in local Tibetan schools, who since 1984 have received free board, lodging and clothing, will now

receive a monthly grant of yuan 57-95. About 4,000 teachers in Tibet will also get more. (SWB 4 March)

RELIGION

Religious Control: Limits on Monasteries

TIN News Background 11th January 1994

Chinese authorities in Tibet have imposed a limit on the number of Tibetans allowed to become monks or nuns, according to an official document received from Tibet. Some reports say that the new orders not only limited the numbers in each institution but banned any new admissions to monasteries, even if others had left. The document, obtained by the exile Tibetan Government in India, confirms for the first time anecdotal reports by Tibetan refugees that there have been strict limits throughout Central Tibet since at least 1989.

"Orders were issued in most of the monasteries recently that they were not allowed to admit any more new monks and nuns", confirmed a source in Lhasa last month. Any monks who were found to be involved in pro-independence activities would be expelled, said the source, who added that the leader of each monastery or nunnery was to be held responsible for the behaviour of each monk or nun in their institution.

Such limits have been imposed since 1989 or earlier on many monasteries, but have never been publicly acknowledged by Beijing. Last month Beijing moved towards admitting openly that a ban on admissions was official policy. In its Winter 1993 issue, *China's Tibet*, an official quarterly published in Beijing, twice quoted the **Panchen Lama**, the leading Tibetan religious figure who died in 1989, as saying the "mere number of monks is not an important matter... the number of monasteries is not an important matter either...neither is the number of nuns an important matter".

The magazine quoted a lama from Kandze in eastern Tibet as saying that monasteries were too "economically poor" to cope with more admissions. "We have decided to limit the growth in the number of monks", said the lama, described by the magazine as "Living Buddha **Gyadain** of Dajin Monastery".

Other evidence indicates that the limits on the admission of monks and nuns has been imposed by the Chinese authorities, not by the monasteries themselves. A copy of an official document issued in late 1992 and obtained by the exile Tibetan Government in India, says that a fixed limit has been imposed on every monastery and nunnery in Tibet.

The document, dated 15th September 1992, is entitled *Summary Report No 4* of the "6th Conference of Delegates of the Tibet Branch of the Chinese Buddhist Association".

"In the past few years there were basically no new admissions in the monasteries in the whole of the Tibet Autonomous Region," says the document, an internal report of a meeting of monks representing the different areas in Tibet. The report reveals that "work teams" were sent by the Communist Party and the Party's Religious Affairs Bureau to every monastery in the Tibet Autonomous Region. Previous reports since 1987 have

only given details of work teams in areas around Lhasa and Shigatse.

"In the last few years a ceiling of the maximum number of monks in a monastery has been fixed in all areas", says the Summary Report No.4. "The Socialist Education 'Work Teams' [*ledun rukhag*] and the Religious Affairs Teams have examined and decided the maximum number of monks allowed in the monasteries."

The teams had fixed the ceiling in most monasteries and nunneries at between 2 and 50, with the majority having less than 20 monks, says the Report. "In most areas, because of the very strong restrictions imposed by fixing the ceilings [on admissions], with the result that there are consequently fewer monks and nuns, the monasteries are not able to carry on their daily religious activities and also are not able to undertake the responsibilities of ... protecting and preserving religious articles in our monasteries," it adds. Most monasteries seen by tourists in Tibet are much larger than average and are allowed to admit 200 or more monks. Many include several dozen monks who have taken robes illegally, and who are usually able to attend most ceremonies and teachings.

The teams seem to have been particularly zealous in the remote area of **Ngari** in western Tibet where the limit has often been set as low as one or two monks or nuns, according to the document. There has been almost no pro-independence unrest in Ngari.

"Delegates from Ngari said, in a nutshell, 'In most of the monasteries in Ngari area there is not even a single monk or nun in them. In a few monasteries there are 1 to 2 monks or nuns but all of them are very old. [...] For instance, Thonding Monastery, a historically important monastery with many precious religious artefacts, has not even a single novice."

One monk, **Tashi Ngoril** from **Kyirong**, said that he was the only monk at his monastery. "If I die it is definite that the statues, paintings and texts of this monastery will be lost or destroyed", he told the meeting, confirming several reports last summer of violent robbers vandalising unguarded temples in western and southern Tibet in the search for artefacts that can be sold, usually to westerners, across the border in Nepal.

The authorities in some cases banned all new admissions as well as fixing limits, according to the delegates to the Chinese Buddhist Association meeting. "Subsequent to the unrest in Lhasa [in 1987 or 1989], in most areas orders have been passed that no new monks or nuns could be admitted in the monasteries, so that even ceilings which had been agreed beforehand could not be fulfilled in reality."

The delegates to the September 1992 conference, which was held in Lhasa, say at the end of the report that they do not oppose setting limits on admissions in principle, but that they are opposed to the rigidity of the current limits.

The delegates also criticised the Chinese authorities for issuing exaggerated figures for the total number of Tibetan monks and nuns. The official figure includes

laypeople who went on retreat, attended religious ceremonies or who helped in restoration work, argued the delegates. The Chinese Government says that there are 36,000 Tibetans monks and nuns in Tibet or China.

Laws giving the Tibet authorities the specific power to control the number of monks have been in place since at least 1986, according to a report issued on 1st March 1994 by the Tibetan Government in exile. The report cited a 1986 law entitled *Provisional Regulations for the Management of Religious Institutions in the TAR*, which in Article 8 laid down a rule requiring the number of monks and nuns enrolled in each institution to be fixed. The rules refer to a "specified number of monks or nuns" established with "regard to the actual requirement of the concerned monastic institution and its capacity to fend for them". The regulations say that prospective monks and nuns should be "patriotic" and that they should "study the party and government policies and decrees and thereby enhance their comprehension of the ideology of love for the nation on an uninterrupted basis."

Dalai Lama Pictures Confiscated

Two famous Buddhist teachers were allowed to give teachings but officials confiscated pictures of the Dalai Lama during November 1993, according to an unconfirmed report from Lhasa.

Some time ago, two of the great monastic dignitaries, namely [Geshe] Lamrim and Denma Choeze Chok, gave teachings at Sera and Drepung for several days, followed by much-desired initiations.

However, at that time, several disguised Chinese agents had also been spread around. Especially during the 10th month [14 November - 13 December], the Chinese authorities started confiscating from the monasteries, Tibetan shops and homes the visibly displayed photos of His Holiness with [President] Bush and His Holiness with the Nobel Prize. As constant and vigilant control makes it no longer possible for the people to possess these things, people have started to remove these things themselves.

The report also claimed that security agents prevent people from talking together in the streets of the Old City of Lhasa:

Even in the Barkor, all the places where people gather together constantly get dispersed by the Chinese agents, making it impossible to meet peacefully. Everywhere, with the wide-spread use of the Chinese spy system, continuous arrests of people from workplaces and homes are taking place.

According to one report, after the unrest in May 1993 an order was given to register all the monks in the Lhokha area. One source described a Tibetan official visiting the monastery of **Gongkar Choeden**, about 15 kilometres north of Gongkar airport that month:

I was in the kitchen of the monastery. It was early morning, about 7am, and a local Tibetan official came and asked that a list of all the monks should be prepared for him to collect two days later, giving their name, age and birthplace. He also smoked a lot, even though he was in the

monastery, so that even though he was drinking butter tea, he was still behaving like some Chinese do, as if to affirm their authority. This showed well his ambiguity.

Delhi: Clash over Tibetan Child Lama

TIN News Update/17 March, 1994 v2

Unrest broke out amongst supporters of rival Tibetan religious factions during a ceremony in Delhi today, 17 March. Bricks and bottles were thrown, wounding several people during the incident, which arose from a potential challenge to the Dalai Lama's authority amongst Tibetan Buddhists.

The challenge was issued by a Tibetan *lama* known as **Shamar Rimpoche** when he presented at the ceremony a 10 year old child named **Tenzin Khyentse**, whom he announced this morning was the 17th incarnation of the **Karmapa**. The 16th Karmapa, head of the *Kagyupa* school of Tibetan Buddhism and one of the four leading Tibetan lamas, died in November 1981.

The announcement is likely to lead to political tension, because the Dalai Lama declared another child, **Urgyen Thinley**, as the 17th Karmapa two years ago. Urgyen Thinley has been recognised as the legitimate reincarnation by most other leading lamas, as well as by the Chinese authorities in Beijing, and was formally enthroned at Tsurphu monastery near Lhasa in September 1992.

About 400 people attended this morning's ceremony at the Karmapa International Buddhist Institute in Mehrauli, New Delhi, most of them western followers of Shamar, who has a strong following in Denmark and Germany.

About 100 Tibetans from the refugee community in Delhi, including monks, staged a demonstration outside the Institute, carrying banners describing Shamar as "a disgrace to our religion" and proclaiming support for the child Urgyen Thinley.

Bricks were thrown by protestors on both sides, and one Westerner was hurt and taken to hospital when he was pushed over, hitting his head on the pavement. Less than a dozen police were on duty when the protest began, but were able to hold back the demonstrators.

"Somebody started people pushing the gates in and then someone was hurling a brick and people were throwing bottles from the top of the building inside", said one eye-witness, who described the demonstrators as quietening down after about 30 minutes when police reinforcements arrived. "I don't think any of the Tibetans there were really serious about violence. The monks were, most of them, trying to keep people quiet, but there were monks throwing bricks as well," she added.

Shamar's main rival in the dispute, a senior lama called **Situ Rimpoche** who first identified Urgyen Thinley as the Karmapa, issued a statement from Delhi today saying he was ashamed of the violence used by his supporters. But he has already been accused by Shamar of inciting the protest.

Other lamas have used less orthodox methods to dissuade Shamar from mounting his challenge, including citing 18th century poetry as proof of Situ's choice.

*In that area, with rocky mountains, by a tree,
Is the Seventeenth of the Incarnation Rosary,
Sitting together with Kenting Tai Situ,
Their minds merged as one,*

goes a verse quoted by one distinguished lama in an open letter last month. The 18th century poet "foresaw the Seventeenth sitting together with Situ and not with Shamar. Furthermore, when I saw the comment that "their minds merged as one", I gained irreversible certainty. There is no way I can accept your insistent commands", wrote **Thrangu Tulku**, a lama based in Nepal, in the letter rejecting Shamar's claim.

Indian Newspaper Campaign

The incident has been overshadowed in political significance by a pro-Shamar campaign being waged by a leading Indian newspaper, the *Indian Express*. Yesterday the paper carried another in a three month series of front page articles in effect vilifying the child recognised by the Dalai Lama, and describing those supporting that child as "China-linked".

The newspaper has run detailed personal attacks on six individuals, including two westerners, whom it depicts as Chinese agents opposed to Shamar *Rimpoche*. The articles quoted liberally from internal Indian government memos, suggesting official involvement in the campaign.

The dispute could damage the standing of the Dalai Lama, whom Shamar described, in a recent speech in Malaysia, as "more concerned with his own position than with *Kagyupa* matters". Shamar refused today to say where his child candidate had come from, apparently to deflect rumours that he had received help from the Chinese or Indian governments in bringing the boy from Tibet.

The dispute comes on the eve of a controversial conference due to open in New Delhi tomorrow. The three day forum, organised by 106 Indian MPs, plans to urge India to call for a dialogue between the Chinese and the exile Tibetans. The organisers last week accused the Indian government of "sabotage" by deliberately delaying issuing visas to foreign MPs planning to attend the meeting.

Dispute over Karmapa Succession:

TIN Briefing Note 17 March, 1994 (revised)

Summary

On 17 March 1994 at a ceremony marred by violent protest in New Delhi a Tibetan lama named Shamar *Rimpoche* announced that a small Tibetan child in India was the re-incarnation of the Karmapa, one of the four leaders of Tibetan Buddhism. The announcement contradicts formal statements issued two years ago by the Dalai Lama and numerous other Tibetan religious leaders, who had already identified an 8 year old child in Tibet in 1992 as the legitimate re-incarnation.

The announcement is likely to lead to divisions and further tension. It appears to be an attempt to

undermine the standing of the Dalai Lama, and it raises questions about the attitudes of the Indian and Chinese governments towards the Tibetan exile community.

Background

In November 1981 the 16th Karmapa died while visiting the United States. He was one of the highest Tibetan lamas, the leader of the *Kagyupa* school of Tibetan Buddhism, (sometimes called by foreigners the Red Hat School). The school has a very large following both inside and outside Tibet. In the 17th century this order was for a time a dominant political force in Tibet and at that time had relations with the Chinese imperial state. Since going into exile shortly after the Chinese annexation of Tibet in 1950, the Karmapa had established his seat at the monastery of Rumtek in Sikkim, partly under the tutelage of the Sikkimese and Bhutanese monarchies. Despite his powerful position he had not taken a prominent role in exile politics.

Successor Identified

After the death of the 16th Karmapa, an arrangement was made whereby the four senior lamas of that tradition were to act in turn as leaders of the order and collectively to identify his re-incarnation. The regents were Situ (also known as Tai Situ-pa) *Rimpoche*, Jamgon Kongtrul *Rimpoche*, Shamar *Rimpoche* and Gyaltsab *Rimpoche*.

In March 1992 Situ *Rimpoche* announced that he had discovered a prophetic letter from the 16th Karmapa which had led him to identify provisionally a child in Eastern Tibet as the 17th Karmapa. The four regents met on 19th March and announced that the letter was genuine and that Jamgon Kongtrul would travel to Tibet to seek out and assess the proposed candidate.

On 26th April 1992 Jamgon Kongtrul was killed in a car crash in India. The media in Sikkim described the accident as suspicious, but the local authorities, apparently at the request of the lama's family, did not allow any investigation into the circumstances of the crash.

Situ *Rimpoche*, with the support of Gyaltsab *Rimpoche*, approached His Holiness the Dalai Lama with details of the candidate within Tibet whom he had identified. On 7th June 1992 the Dalai Lama announced his formal support for this candidate. The Dalai Lama, whose decision is considered as the final authority amongst almost all Tibetans, declared again on 30th July that his was a final decision.¹ This was reiterated by his officials, who noted that there was usually only one re-incarnation. "In the case of high lamas like the Gyalwa Karmapa, it is not possible to have more than one incarnation at a time. [...] Therefore there will be only one Seat Holder of Karmapa", announced a senior religious official in the Dalai Lama's exile Government.² The Government later clarified the statement, saying

¹ "H.H. the Dalai Lama recognises Karmapa's Reincarnation", Department of Information and International Relations, the Tibetan Government in Exile, (Press Release), 3 July 1992. See also Press Release of the Department of Religion and Culture, 23 July 1992.

² Official Speech at Gangtok, Sikkim, by Ven. Karma Gelek, General Secretary of the Department of Religion and Culture of the Tibetan Government in Exile, 4th April 1993. *Sherab Ling Newsletter*, Vol.3., No.2, Summer/Autumn 1993.

that there could be only one throne holder but acknowledging that in theory other incarnations were possible. All the lamas from the Kagyupa school also declared their formal support for the decision.

In addition the Chinese authorities were approached by Situ *Rimpoche*, and allowed a search team, led by Akong *Rimpoche*, a lama resident in the UK, to travel to Eastern Tibet where a child named Urgyen Thinley was located in June 1992 and formally identified as the 17th Karmapa. The child was escorted to Lhasa on 13th June and the Chinese authorities and they announced on 27th June their formal support for the candidate whom Situ's team had identified.³ On the same day 3,000 Tibetans from the Lhasa area attended the first ceremony conducted by the boy and received him with acclamation.

The Chinese authorities authorised and participated in [attended?] an enthronement ceremony near Lhasa on 27th September 1992. They also took the opportunity to announce [claim?] that they had a historical and legal right to appoint religious leaders in Tibet.⁴ However, they have not so far completed arrangements allowing the child to travel to India to claim his seat in Sikkim.

Faction Disputes Recognition

After the death of Jamgon Kongtrul in April 1992 Shamar *Rimpoche* announced that he did not after all accept the validity of the letter produced by Situ *Rimpoche*, or the child identified from the letter. He arranged, in co-operation with Topga Yugyal *Rimpoche*, General Secretary of Rumtek Monastery in Sikkim, who was also a relative of Shamar, for a force of about 2 dozen Indian troops to be sent on 12 June 1992 to Rumtek Monastery, without consent of the local Sikkimese authorities. The troops were apparently intended to prevent Situ from making a public announcement to the monks there of the discovery of the child by his search team in Tibet. A fight ensued in the monastery between monks in which a number of monks were injured.

The Sikkimese authorities called on the Indian forces to be withdrawn and a general strike was called in Gangtok, the capital of Sikkim, objecting to peremptory involvement by the Indian military in civil affairs. It led to Indian withdrawal within a few days.

There were unconfirmed allegations at the time that the Indian forces may have been involved at the request of the Bhutanese Government. Earlier that year it had been rumoured that a member of the outer circle of the Bhutanese royal family, a son of the adopted daughter of Topga *Rimpoche*, whose wife is aunt to the King of Bhutan, had been informally mooted by Topga and Shamar *Rimpoche* as the re-incarnation of the Karmapa. The reported candidature had led to public dissent amongst sections of the Tibetan community in Sikkim and India, and the proposal came to naught.

The Sikkimese civil authorities subsequently declared Topga *Rimpoche*, who was implicated in the military escalation and the unrest at Rumtek, as *persona non grata*.

Shamar *Rimpoche* did not at first accept the Dalai Lama's 7th June decision accepting Urgyen Thinley as the correct candidate, arguing that the Tibetan leader had been misinformed. After discussions with the Dalai Lama he gave an undertaking accepting the decision on 16th June 1992. "At [one] time, a little doubt arose in my mind, but now I have attained complete confidence in Situ *Rimpoche*, and the contents of the letter... I will no longer pursue the matter", he announced in a statement the next day.

He changed his position within a few days. A group of western followers of Shamar in Denmark, France and Germany, led by an Danish man known as "Lama Ole", began an extensive campaign of letter writing and pamphlet production which sought to discredit Situ *Rimpoche* and the officially recognised incarnation.⁵ The group, which has its Indian base in Delhi, accused Situ *Rimpoche* of forging the prophetic letter identifying the re-incarnation, of being a puppet or agent of the Chinese authorities, and, by implication, of killing Jamgon Kongtrul. The campaign is acrimonious and is reported to have included death threats against Tibetans, including lamas associated with Situ *Rimpoche*.

The campaign continued in a much more public form in India through the pages of the *Indian Express*, where it took a more political form. A series of articles appeared, describing in detail private visits to Rumtek by individuals who were implied to be Chinese agents. The articles were largely fictitious, but seemed intent on proposing that Situ was a Chinese agent.⁶ Some of the articles, which were front page features, quote extensively from numbered internal Indian Government documents.

Shamar *Rimpoche* had proposed a number of alternative candidates as the re-incarnation before 1992. These proposals were informal or unpublicised until February 1994 when he announced through the Indian papers that he had discovered a child who he claimed was the rightful re-incarnation.⁷ Shamar has refused to reveal the exact origins of the child, ten year old Tenzin Choekyi from the Lhasa area, already by then in India and presented privately by Shamar to his followers in India on 23rd February. Unconfirmed reports emanating from the rival camp claim that the child had been brought through Eastern Tibet to Hong Kong, allegedly with assistance from Katog Shingkyong *Rimpoche*, an influential Nyingma-pa lama and antique dealer based in Chengdu, who is close to the Chinese authorities in Sichuan and who is said to have rejected the Karmapa candidate approved by most other parties in 1992.

5 Eg., "Dear Dharma Friends", January 1993, open letter by "Hannah and Lama Ole", and *The Karmapa Papers*, anonymous, 179 pp., Paris, October 1992.

6 Eg., "Sikkim Affair: German told to quit India", *Indian Express*, 27th January 1994; "And now, a French connection thickens Sikkim plot", *Indian Express*, 28 January 1994; "China-linked monk buys 400 acres near Gargaon", *Indian Express*, 19 February 1994.

7 UNI, 19 February 1994.

3 "China Approves Choice of Tibetan Living Buddha", Reuters, 28 June 1992; "Approval for Living Buddha, 8", *China Daily*, 29 June 1992.

4 See for example "New Master in the Curpu Monastery", *China's Tibet*, Spring 1993.

Observations

Shamar *Rimpoché*'s decision to step up his campaign in 1994 by announcing a rival claimant as the 17th Karmapa, nearly two years after the succession of Urgyen Thinley was finally ratified by popular acclamation in Tibet, is controversial, because it directly threatens the Dalai Lama's authority. It is almost impossible that it can succeed, given the vast respect with which the Dalai Lama is regarded. But it will probably lead to schism and to confrontation, and is likely to damage the standing of the Dalai Lama.

The decision by Shamar to proceed can be attributed to personal obsession by him and his principal Danish followers. There is a long history of conflict between the Shamar *Rimpoches* and the Dalai Lama, as well as with other lineages such as the Situs. In 1792, after the 9th Shamar had been instrumental in events which led to the Nepali invasion of Tibet, his estates were confiscated and a law passed by the then Dalai Lama making it a crime for the Shamars to re-incarnate.⁸

The factional tradition of the Shamars does not explain the Indian newspaper campaign or the granting of travel permits to the new child candidate, or the role of Katog *Rimpoché*. These suggest that other interests may be involved, perhaps looking to gain from a diminution of the Dalai Lama's position or from encouraging division amongst the Tibetan community.

The inclusion of internal government documents in the 1993/94 newspaper campaign against Situ *Rimpoché* suggests involvement by a faction of Indian officialdom in the campaign by Shamar *Rimpoché* within India. The position of the Indian government with respect to the arrival of the child and the planned announcement in Delhi in March 1994 by Shamar *Rimpoché* is as yet unclear.

If Shamar did bring his candidate from Tibet via Chengdu and Hong Kong, this could be read as an indication that elements within the Chinese Government may see an advantage in splitting the Tibetan community, notwithstanding their earlier public recognition of Urgyen Thinley as the 17th Karmapa. The Chinese Government has a long history of involvement in divisions over candidatures for high religious positions in Tibet, and such divisions have in recent centuries provided their biggest opportunity to increase political influence in Tibet.

The positions of the Bhutanese and Taiwanese governments are as yet unclear, but both appear to have either withdrawn from the controversy in the first case or to be supporting the position of Situ *Rimpoché* in the second case.

Note: *Rimpoché* is a title of respect for a *lama*. A *lama* is a revered religious teacher, not necessarily a monk.

Chinese Media on Religion

A summary of Chinese media reports on religion, selected from the BBC Summary of World Broadcasts (SWB).

7 Nov. 1993: An important meeting on nationalities and religious issues attended by senior Politbureau and

central committee members was held in Peking in early November, according to Xinhua on 7 November. **Jiang Zemin**, the party chief, made a key speech on the need to prevent political troubles in minority areas and guide religion in ways "compatible with socialism". (SWB 9 Nov.)

21 Oct. 1993: In an important statement in Peking **Li Ruihuan**, member of the ruling Politbureau Standing Committee, said party and government should pay more attention to religious work, protecting the rights of believers and improving relations with "patriotic" religious organisations. He was addressing newly elected leaders of the Buddhist Association of China, whose sixth national conference was in progress, Xinhua reported (SWB 10 Nov.)

23 Oct. 1993: A symposium on "Chinese Tibetan Buddhism" was held on 23 October attended by about 100 living Buddhas, monks and researchers, according to Xinhua. Included were **Zhao Puchu**, president of the BAC, and **Ngapoi Ngawang Jigme**, both vice-chairmen of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (SWB 10 Nov.).

19 Nov. 1993: The renovation of the Potala was completed when the restoration of the golden crown of the Stupa and the memorial hall for the 7th Dalai Lama were finished on 17 November. Chinese government grants made in 1989 totalled yuan 53 m (about usd 9 m - dollar figure as given), according to Xinhua (SWB 22 Nov.).

8 Oct. 1993: Social order in Shanxi province was "far from that which the masses demand", declared the provincial party leader **Hu Fuguo** on 7 October, according to the *Shanxi Daily* on 8 October. Besides murder, robbery, explosions and revenge against officials, "illegal religious activities have run rampant", he claimed (SWB 22 Nov.).

13 Dec: The sixth national Islamic conference opened in Beijing today to mark the organisation's 40th anniversary, Xinhua reported. More than 300 representatives from 10 ethnic minorities attended. **Wang Zhaoguo** and **Seyyidin Aze**, vice-chairman of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, were present (SWB 16 Dec.).

17 Dec: **Li Ruihuan**, member of the ruling politbureau standing committee, met delegates to the Islamic conference and urged them to help party and government implement religious policies, play a bigger role in maintaining social stability and unite Muslims of different nationalities, Xinhua reported (SWB 21 Dec.).

12 Jan: State Councillor **Ismail Amat** said today at the National Conference of Heads of Religious Bureaus that unity must be forged in religious work. Around 100 people from the provinces, regions and municipalities, and from party and state bodies, attended. He stressed the correct handling of religious affairs in order to promote social stability, national unity and boosting reform. **Wang Zhaoguo**, head of the united front work department, attended, as did **Xi Dehua**, vice-secretary general of the State Council, and **Zhang Shengzuo** and **Chi Nai**, director and deputy director of the State

⁸ W.D.Shakapba, *Tibet: A Political History*, Potala, New York, 1984, p.169.

Council's Religious Affairs Bureau respectively (SWB 27 Jan.).

5 Feb: Regulations on managing foreign nationals' religious activities within China were promulgated by Xinhua. They forbid foreigners to set up religious organisations, religious offices, places of activities or schools, or to cultivate disciples, appoint clergy and carry out missionary activity (SWB 10 Feb.).

5 Feb: Regulations on places of religious activities were promulgated by Xinhua. They refer to fixed locations, e.g. churches, mosques.

These locations shall be managed by a management system, which locations must set up. The personnel must abide by regulations on household registration; they may receive alms; they may sell religious wares, books, etc.; no-one is permitted to take over their property or income; they must obtain licences; units wishing to build on or use their property must get consent; religious affairs departments of county level and above must supervise; these departments may punish offenders if these locations break rules; if the rights of these organisations are infringed, they may seek redress through religious departments; local governments may formulate implementing procedures (SWB 10 Feb.).

INTERNATIONAL

Top Tibet Official Visits France

TIN News Updates/21 January, 1994; 27 January, 1994

The top Chinese official in Tibet is visiting France, in what is probably the first trip to the west by a Party Secretary of the Tibet Autonomous Region.

Chen Kuiyuan, the First Secretary of the Communist Party in the Tibet Autonomous Region - the highest ranking official in Tibet - left Beijing this morning local time 21 January, 1994 for a visit to Paris. He will be there as a guest of the French Communist Party, which is holding its 28th Congress, according to Xinhua, the official Chinese News Agency.

Little is known about Chen, formerly a deputy Party Secretary in Inner Mongolia until he was given the top job in Tibet, officially announced in October 1992.

A Hong Kong based China watcher described the visit as "quite bizarre".

Chen has kept a low profile since he took up his Tibet post and is regarded inside Tibet as a hardliner, responsible for continuing the crackdown on the Tibetan independence movement and for overseeing the progressive influx of Chinese migrants into Central Tibet, which has increased dramatically since he took over.

This is believed to be the first time the top Chinese official in Tibet has been sent to a western country. "On the face of it this looks like an attempt to legitimise the Chinese position to Tibet", commented a senior China-watcher in Hong Kong. Chen is expected to stay a week in France.

China's Foreign secretary **Qian Qichen** is due to visit Paris from 22nd January, where he will meet his US counterpart **Warren Christopher**.

Protests in France over Visit

Controversy grew in France following news of the visit to Paris, and on Monday pro-Tibetan supporters held a small demonstration in the Place de la Concorde in Paris, protesting against the visit. The protestors included the famous French photographer, Henri Cartier-Bresson, now 86 yrs old.

The former minister of humanitarian affairs, M. Bernard Kouchner - who also founded the aid organisation Medecins sans Frontiers - contributed a strongly worded article to the daily newspaper "Info-matin" on Monday, expressing his "astonishment" that the French government had issued a visa to "this dangerous individual", whom he described as equivalent to an "ethnic cleanser" for his policies in Tibet. M. Kouchner accused the French government, who received the Dalai Lama in October, of "double language".

The Foundation France-Liberte, run by Danielle Mitterand, wife of the French president, in conjunction with Survival International and other prominent human rights organisations in France have issued an open letter calling on the Government "to put an end" to Chen's visit immediately.

A group of members of the French National Assembly, under the chairmanship of the deputy Louis de Broissia, plans to make a statement later today, expected also to condemn the visit.

The French Communist Party has replied saying that Chen is a member of the Central Committee of China's Communist Party, apparently in an effort to downplay the significance of his role in Tibet. However, it has also said that there are two Tibetans in the delegation, suggesting a strong Tibetan element in the delegation China has sent to the French Communist Party's congress.

Radio Beijing broadcast news of Chen's visit to the France during its main Chinese-language news broadcast on 26th January. It described Chen as secretary of the Tibet Autonomous Region.

China Wins UN Human Rights Vote

TIN News Update/10 March, 1994 ver2

China today persuaded the United Nations for the fourth year running to throw out a resolution criticising its human rights record.

At the UN Commission on Human Rights, holding its annual meeting in Geneva, China and its allies won a procedural move by 20 votes to 16 ruling that "no action" should be taken on the resolution. China's margin of victory decreased by one vote, but 17 of the 53 voting member nations of the Commission abstained, three of them countries which last year supported China.

There was little attempt to justify the "no action" ruling, which was largely a political device, with China

arguing that the human rights criticism was an attack on its internal affairs.

The modestly worded resolution, which even acknowledged that China had made some "positive achievements" in human rights, had been proposed by the European Union with voluble support from the United States. The United States representative called unsuccessfully "on all members of the Commission to think of the victims of human rights we are here to protect ... and [to] decide important questions of human rights on their merits". The UK also made a strongly worded call for the Commission to preserve its credibility by allowing discussion about major nations like China.

China received support from Cuba, Pakistan, Iran, Syria and Mauritania, as well as from a large group of African countries including Kenya, Nigeria, Angola, Cameroon and the Ivory Coast. The western block attracted support from Costa Rica, Japan and Russia, as well as Hungary and Bulgaria. Tunisia and Cyprus, which last year supported China, this time abstained.

The Latin American block abstained en masse, including Mexico and Brazil - countries which some human rights lobbyists were arguing this evening could have been persuaded by the US to vote with the western block if the US had really wanted the resolution to pass.

Gazeta Wyborcz, the most widely read daily in Poland, accused its government of "selling rights" after it was learnt that the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs had instructed its delegation to abstain on the motion,

allegedly in the hope of gaining trade deals with China, a decision which was followed by Rumania and could have won China the vote.

The resolution had earlier generated controversy amongst its supporters because of the contradictory role played by the US behind the scenes. The US gave its support to the resolution only on condition that the European countries, as proposers, modified the wording so that Tibet was defined as a minority, and therefore as part of China.

The US insistence on inserting a gratuitous statement about Tibet's political status in an inappropriate human rights context led to fierce criticism from the Tibetan government-in-exile in a public statement last week, and laid open to question the US commitment to criticising China's human rights policies.

One European diplomat told TIN last week that he was "baffled" and "at a loss" to explain the US insistence on controversial wording about Tibet, which was against European wishes and was always at risk of weakening support for the resolution.

On March 4th a State Department official is reported to have told two US Congressmen that the US would not insist on the describing Tibetans as a minority. But the reported US change of position came too late to affect the draft resolution, which would have seriously damaged the Tibetans' future hopes for effective negotiations with China if it had passed.

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